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# THE History of Dunbar

DUNBAR CASTLE,

Prior to 1846.

DUNBAR:

*PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JAMES DOWNIE,*

1859.

THE

# HISTORY OF DUNBAR,

FROM THE

EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

JAMES MILLER,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF HADDINGTON," ETC.

There watching high the least alarms,
Thy rough, rude fortress gleams afar,
Like some bold veteran grey in arms,
And marked with many a seamy scar;
The pond'rous wall and massy bar,
Grim rising o'er the rugged rock,
Have oft withstood assailing war,
And oft repelled the invader's stroke.—BURNS.

DUNBAR:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JAMES DOWNIE.
MDCCCLIX.

TO

HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF ROXBURGHE, K.T.,

MARQUIS OF BOWMONT AND CESSFORD, EARL OF KELSO,

VISCOUNT BROXMOUTH,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF RESPECT,

BY HIS GRACE'S OBLIGED SERVANT,

JAMES MILLER.

Haddington, May 1st, 1859.

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# HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

## PART I.

## MILITARY ANNALS.

### CHAPTER I.

There was a day when thou wert young and proud,
Banners on high and battles passed below;
But they who fought are in a bloody shroud,
And those which waved are shredless dust ere now,
And thy bleak battlements shall bear no future blow.

BYRON.

#### THE CASTLE.

DUNBAR CASTLE stands a short distance north from the town in a situation peculiarly wild and romantic. It is founded upon a reef of rocks that project into the sea; and which, in many places, rise like bastions thrown up by nature to guard these stern remains of feudal grandeur against the power of the waves, that yet force their way through rugged caverns and fissures in the stone, and, with a thundering noise, wash its dark foundations.

The body of the building measures about one hundred and sixty-five feet from east to west; and, in some places, two hundred and seven feet from north to south. The south battery, which Grose supposes to have been the citadel or keep, is situated on a detached perpendicular rock, only accessible on one side, seventy-two feet high, and is connected to the main part of the castle by a passage of masonry, measuring sixty-nine feet. The interior of the citadel measures fifty-four by sixty within the walls. Its shape is octagonal. Five of the gun-ports remain, which bear

the correct traditionary name of the "arrow holes." They measure four feet at the mouth, and only sixteen inches at the nether end. The buildings are arched, and extend eight feet from the outer walls, and look into an open court, whence they derive their light.

About the middle of the fortress part of a wall remains, through which there is a gateway, surmounted with armorial bearings. This gate seems to have led to the principal apartments. In the centre are the arms of George, eleventh Earl of Dunbar, who succeeded his father in 1369; and who, besides the earldom of Dunbar and March, inherited the lordship of Annandale and the Isle of Man from his heroic mother. These must have been placed there after his succeeding to the estates, as he was the first who assumed the arms sculptured over the centre of the gateway; a large triangular shield, with a lion *rampant*, within a border charged with eight roses. This shield is adorned with a helmet, and for crest a horse's head bridled. On the right are the arms of the Bruces, and on the left those of the Isle of Man. Grose also notices the arms of Scotland; but the coats are defaced by time and the storm.

The towers had communication with the sea, and dip low in many places. North-east from the front of the castle a large natural cavern extends, chiefly of black-stone, which, in the mind's eye, appears like the mouth of Acheron—a place that leads to melancholy streams. This spot is supposed to have formed part of the dungeon where prisoners were confined;* which, Pennant

* Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, probably conceived his description of the allegorical poem of King Hart's Castle when a prisoner in this dreary place in 1515.

"So strong this king him thought his castel stude,
With mony toure and turrat crounit hie;
About the wall there ran ane water voud,
Blak, stinkand, sour, and salt as is the sey;
That on the wallis whiskit, gre by gre,
Rolding to ryis the castell to confound;
Bot thai within maid sa grit melodie,
That for their reird thai micht not heir the sound."

But however dreary the castle might be to the poetical bishop, it appears from the concluding lines of the stanza, that "it was merry in the hall when beards wag'd all," to the earl's vassals.

observes, "the assistance of a little art had rendered a secure but infernal prison;" but as it has a communication with a rocky inlet from the sea on the west, it is most likely that it was the dark postern through which Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, and his brave followers, entered with a supply of provisions to the besieged in 1338; a place also well suited for securing the boats of the garrison.

That the castle was invulnerable as a place of strength, is proved from the various sieges that it sustained; that it was also distinguished as a place of security, is established from the following fact: In 1497, Ferquhard Macintosh of that Ilk, a bold and daring man, and the chief of a powerful clan, who, along with Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, had been guilty of some lawless practices in his neighbourhood, was apprehended at Inverness, by order of James IV., and sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, whence he effected his escape. Being retaken in the Torwood, in Stirlingshire, he was sent to Dunbar, where he remained confined till after the battle of Flodden in 1513, and died in the year following; evincing, that though "rings o' airn, and bolts o' steel," might be broken, that the fastnesses of this stronghold were not so easily overcome.*

The castle is built with a red stone, similar to what is found in the quarries of the neighbourhood. Large masses of the walls, which have fallen beneath the weight of time, appear to be vitrified or run together.

The rocks on which the castle is situated, are of a darkish colour, intersected with red and white veins, similar to Lammer Crag and the isle on which Dunbar Battery is built. Part of the foundation of a fort, which was begun in 1560, for the purpose of accommodating a French garrison, may be traced, extending one hundred and thirty-six feet in front of the castle. This building, however, was interrupted in its progress, and demolished by act of parliament.

* It was probably during his imprisonment, that Macintosh wrote a genealogical history of his family, tracing their descent from the Earl of Fife down to 1496.

In the north-west part of the ruins, an apartment, about twelve feet square, and nearly inaccessible in the present day, tradition denominates the apartment of Queen Mary.

In 1801, the workmen, in levelling some ground in front of the Earl of Lauderdale's house, discovered a cemetery or burial place, containing a quantity of human bones of various ages, and a number of stone balls of different sizes, some of them as large as the shot used for twenty-four pounders; and, lately, four iron-balls were found, as large as that used for thirty-six pounders, in an apartment on the south-east site of the castle.

The time of the erection of Dunbar Castle cannot be precisely ascertained, but it was evidently built by the Picts at an early period of the Christian era. When these adventurers emigrated from Germany, they fixed their dominion in the Lothians, from which the latter acquired the name of Pictland. While the Scots delighted in hunting and war, the Picts, skilled in the arts which have contributed to the comforts of life, began to build houses and cultivate the ground. As a matter of necessity, their first consideration would be to build fortresses, to defend them from the aggressions of the Scots, Saxons, and Britons; and as Dunbar was stampt by nature a place of strength, and hung on the borders of the hostile country of the Saxons in Berwickshire, it is probable that a fort was built here in the fifth century, if not at a still earlier period.

Betwixt the year 835–9, Kenneth I. of Scotland, having totally defeated the Picts in a pitched battle, extirpated the inhabitants, and seizing the country divided it amongst his nobles. The fortress, styled the Castle of Dunbar, was awarded to *Bar*, a valiant captain of the Scots, whose counsel and service had materially assisted in the subjugation of the conquered nation: hence, according to Holinshed, it was called Dunbar; *i. e.* the Castle of Bar.*

* Chalmers, the learned author of "Caledonia," supposes *Dun-bar* in the British, and Dunbar in the Gaelic, to signify the fort on the height, top, or extremity: and Lord Hailes translates it, the *top-cliff*. In relation to the termination *tun*, frequently mentioned in the names of places, Gibson, in his

Bar was a person of considerable consequence in the army. Before acquiring the Pictish castle of Dunbar, he led the advanced division at the battle of Scoon, when Drusken, king of the Picts, was slain, and his followers nearly extirpated.

The next act of Kenneth, after destroying the Pictish people, and partitioning the country, was to change the names of the places; so that were we even in possession of records anterior to 835, it would not be easy to recognise the features of Dunbar before this period.

Holinshed further informs us, on the authority of Boece, that a noble house or family had descended from this officer, and bore his local appellation; accordingly, in 961, we find the men of Lothian, under the Captains Dunbar and Græme, discomfiting the Danes on the fields of Cullen; and, in 1005, we meet with Patrick de Dunbar, under Malcolm II., engaged against the Danish invaders in the north at Murthlake, a town of Mar, where, in the brunt of the battle, along with Kenneth thane of the Isles, and Grim thane of Strathern, he was slain.

Here closes all that we have been able to glean of the history of the first family of the surname of Dunbar. It appears that Patrick, Thane of Lothian, had no issue, for Malcolm III. bestowed the manor of Dunbar, and other lands in the neighbourhood, on Cospatrick,* the expatriated Earl of Northumberland, as will be noticed in the following chapter.

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Regulæ Generales to the Saxon Chronicle, supposes *tun* to be derived from *dun, mons*, as towns of old were built on mountains. This, however, does apply either to our Hadtyntun or Derletun, which, like Goldsmith's village of "Auburn," are the loveliest of the plain.

> "In Ford, in Ham, in Ley, and Tun,
> The most of English surnames run."—VERSTEGAN.

* Cospatrick, or, as he is sometimes styled, Gospatrick, seems a contraction of Comes Patricius.—*Sir W. Scott.*

## CHAPTER II.

Into the kinrick of Bealm,
There winn'd a lord of that realm:
He was the greatest of renown,
Except the king that wore the crown.
HISTORY OF SIR GREY-STEEL.

### THE EARLS OF DUNBAR.—ROYAL TOURNAMENT AT HADDINGTON.

COSPATRICK, the father of the noble family of Dunbar, was the son of Maldred, the son of Crinan, by Algatha, daughter and heiress of Uthred prince of Northumberland, by Elgiva, daughter of Ethelrid king of England.

After the conquest of England by William the Norman, in 1066, Cospatrick and Merleswain, with other nobles of the highest rank in the north of England, consulting their own liberty and safety, fled to Scotland, carrying with them Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, his mother Algatha, with his sisters Margaret and Christina, and sheltered themselves under the hospitality of Malcolm III.

In 1069, Cospatrick accompanied Edgar into England; and, assisted by the Danes, joined by forces of Scotland, took the city and castle of York, and put the garrison to the sword; but the same year, after being deserted by the Danes, and the resources of the Scots exhausted, he submitted to the English. William incensed, however, at the repeated insurrections of the fierce hordes of the north, seized the sword and the brand, and laid waste their country from York to Durham.

In a legend, which Simeon of Durham, or Turgot, relates on this occasion, Cospatrick is charged with having advised the flight of the bishop and his clergy, and with having taken advantage of their absence by carrying off the precious ornaments of their church. An ancient priest of Durham, one of the company who

fled to Holy Island, told Turgot a dream, in which he beheld a great Northumbrian baron, who had maltreated Bishop Egelwin and his company in their flight, suffering the torments of hell; and, in the same dream, he had heard St Cuthbert denouncing woe against the Earl for his sacrilege on the church. The inspiration of this dream was read, by the sudden death of the person who was seen in the fiery abyss; and when Turgot related this story to Cospatrick, after his retreat to Scotland, the Earl was seized with such horror, that he immediately set out on a pilgrimage on his naked feet to the Holy Isle; seeking forgiveness from the saint by prayers and gifts. Turgot adds, that Cospatrick, after his impious conduct, was never in the same honourable state as before; but was expelled from his earldom, and, during the length of his life, underwent other privations.

But scarcely had the conqueror retired from the Northumbrian territories, when Malcolm entering England by way of Cumberland, made great devastations along the course of the Tees; and while Malcolm was thus employed, Cospatrick ravaged Cumberland; and, returning with great spoils, shut himself up in Bamborough's "towers, which shade the wave-worn steep."

Cospatrick now claimed the earldom of Northumberland in right of his ancestors; and purchased the King's confirmation of his title with a great sum of money; but, in 1072, William, after his return from an expedition against Scotland, deprived Cospatrick of his earldom, under pretence that he had instigated and assisted the murderers of Cuming the former governor, as also those who had destroyed the Normans at York. The expatriated Earl again sought refuge in Scotland; but as peace had just been concluded with England, he was necessitated to repair to Flanders. On his return, which soon took place, Malcolm Canmore bestowed on him the manor of Dunbar, and many fair lands in the Merse and Lothian.

Cospatrick next signalised himself in an expedition against a formidable banditti, which infested the south-east borders of Scotland. Having attacked them, he slew six hundred, hanged

eighty, and presented the head of their commander to the king; who, to reward his valour, created him Earl of the Merse, or March; and the lands of Cockburnspath were bestowed on him, by the singular tenure of clearing East Lothian and the Merse of robbers, and on bearing a banner whereon the bloody head of a felon was painted.*

Besides these lands of the Merse and Lothian, his posterity possessed the barony of Bengeley in Northumberland, "on the service of being in-borough and out-borough between England and Scotland," saith Camden; "or to observe the ingress or egress of those who travelled between the two kingdoms."

This illustrious person died towards the conclusion of the eleventh century; and was buried in the church of Norham, which his posterity were bound to secure. He had three sons, Dolfyn, Cospatrick, and Waldeve.

Cospatrick, second son to his predecessor, succeeded his father in his Scottish property, while his brothers were provided for in Cumberland; and is only noted as enjoying the favour of the court. He witnessed the foundation charter of Scone by Alexander I. in 1115; and, in 1116, the inquisition made by David, Prince of Cumberland, into the possessions of the church of Glasgow, had, among other witnesses, Cospatricius, frater Dolphini, and Waldef, frater suus. He also witnessed the foundation of a charter of Holyroodhouse by David I. in 1128. His rank of Earl is now ascertained; for in 1130, in a donation granted to the Prior and convent of Durham, and to the Monks of Coldingham, of the church and town of Edrehame and town of Nisbet, he is designed, "Cospatricius Comes, frater Dilfun." The donation to Coldingham was confirmed by David on the 16th August 1139, on which day, as a striking proof of the mutability of human affairs, Earl Cospatrick died.†

* Grose's Scots Antiquities, vol. i. Lord Hailes considers this to be a fiction.

† See Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 499, and Wood's Douglas Peerage, vol. ii. p. 167.

Cospatrick, second Earl of Dunbar, on succeeding his father, confirmed his liberalities; but having neglected to endow the monks of Melrose, they withheld that immortality which the notice of their chronicle was supposed to confer.

Under the designation of Cospatricius Comes, filius Cospatricii, this earl witnessed a charter of David I. to the monastery of Newbottle in 1140. To the opulent mitre-crowned mouastery of Kelso he gave the patronage of the churches of Home, Lambden, and Greenlaw; and to the church of St Nicholas of Home, he gave the donation of a caracute of land. He died in 1147, leaving four sons: Cospatrick, Edward, Edgar; and Uchtred, the supposed ancestor of the family of Dundas.

Cospatrick, third Earl of Dunbar, was still more munificent to the church than his father. He founded two Cistertian nunneries; first, the nunnery of Coldstream, to which he gave half of the church of Layvel, and some lands in Layvel and Birghame; and, secondly, a nunnery at Eccles, which he largely endowed. Besides these he confirmed to the nunnery of Coldstream, the church of Hirsel, with a caracute of land, that had been given to him by Derder his countess. He had two sons: Waldeve, his successor, and Patrick, who iuherited the manor of Greenlaw, and was ancestor of the Earls of Home.

Waldeve, fourth earl of Dunbar, succeeded his father in 1166, when he confirmed the donations of the churches of Layvel and Whitechester to the nuns; and, on the Scottish nobility and clergy, with a loyalty unbecoming their dignity, agreeing to purchase the king's liberation at the expense of the independency of the nation, he was engaged with other Scottish nobles as a hostage. He died in 1182, leaving by Alina, his countess, Patrick and Constantine; the latter of whom is mentioned with his brother in a donation to the monastery of Coldingham.

Waldeve was succeeded by Patrick fifth Earl of Dunbar, on whom William I., in 1184, perhaps in gratitude for the services of his father, bestowed Ada, one of his natural daughters, in marriage. About the end of the twelfth century, he held the offices

of justiciary of Lothian and keeper of Berwick ;* and, in 1200, he attended William the Lion to Lincoln, when he did homage† to John for his lands in England ; but, in 1214, the castle of Dunbar, along with the kingdom, incurred the vengeance of the English prince. To retaliate the inroads made by Alexander into England, John invaded Scotland with a powerful army. After burning Roxburgh he took the town and castle of Berwick, where the most barbarous cruelties were perpetrated in search of money and chattels ; and the current report was that Jews were employed to assist in torturing the inhabitants to reveal where their treasure was hid. Advancing into Lothian, in 1216, he burned Dunbar and Haddington, with several places of smaller note. "We will smoke, we will smoke," said he, "the little *red* fox out of his covert," apparently alluding to the king being a "yellow-haired laddie." Meanwhile Alexander had concentrated his forces on the river Esk, near Pentland, and John, either not wishing to risk a general engagement, or because his army could not subsist in a desolated country, retreated eastward, plundered the abbey of Coldingham, burned Berwick ; and, like another Nero, disgraced majesty by exulting over the flames of the mansions which had sheltered him. He attempted the fortress of Dunbar ; but finding it impregnable, he laid waste the country to the walls of Haddington, which, being built with wood, was speedily reduced to a smouldering pile of ruins. In the interim, Alexander had advanced as far as Richmond, and received the submission of the inhabitants of Durham, and returning through Westmoreland and Cumberland, "sweeping their flocks and herds, came like a torrent down upon the plain :"—the Highlanders, to whom the Chronicle of Melrose gives the name of Scots, acting with the same ferocity as the mercenaries of John.

* Chalmers's Cal. ii. 240. In 1199, when the bridge of Berwick was carried away by a flood, King William directed a precept to the Earl of Dunbar, his *custos* of Berwick, to rebuild it.

† The right of homage, by the feudal custom, was, that the vassal should throw himself on his knees ; should put his joined hands between those of his superior ; and, in that posture, swear fealty to him.—Hume's Eng. vol. i.

In 1218, Earl Patrick founded a monastery of Red Friars in Dunbar, which is more particularly noticed in our Ecclesiastical department; while his countess, Ada, founded a Cistertian nunnery at St Bothans. To the monks of Kelso he granted the chapel of Halyburton, and a caracute of land in Bothkilsheals, with common pasturage between that place and the Scalingas (mountain pasture) of his men of Pinkerton;—to the monks of Melrose he gave all the arable land of Sorrowlesfield on the Leader; and to the canons of Dryburgh the lands of Elvinsley, and two bovates of land in Ersildun.*

When the papal legate had settled the controversies subsisting between Alexander and Henry, the former received in marriage Joan, sister to the latter, on which occasion Patrick accompanied the king to York as a witness to the matrimonial contract. This took place in 1221; and, in 1231, when this munificent nobleman was stricken in years, with a view to part with the world in good fellowship, and, that

> "Like the Roman in the capitol,
> He might adjust his mantle ere he fell,"

he invited his children, relations, and neighbours, to spend the festivities of Christmas at the castle of Dunbar. On the expiry of four days, he sent for his relation the Abbot of Melrose; and having bade his guests and the world a long and last adieu, he received extreme unction agreeably to the forms of the Romish church, and afterwards assumed the monastic habit.

This venerable person enjoyed the earldom fifty years, and died in 1232, when he was buried among the holy sisters in the convent church of Eccles, which his grandfather had founded. By his countess Ada, who died in 1200, he had two sons and a daughter: Patrick, who succeeded him, and William, (who, in a donation granted to the monastery of Kelso in 1241, is designated filius Comitis Patricii: he died in 1253; and Ada, who got from

* "The monks of Melrose loved gude kail
On Fridays, when they fasted;
Nor wanted they gude beef and ale
As lang as their neighbours lasted."—Old Ballad.

her father the lands of Home, and was married, first, to a gentleman of the name of Courtenay by whom she had no issue ; and, next to her cousin, William, son of Patrick, before mentioned, who, assuming the name of Home from his wife's estate, laid the foundation of that border clan.*

Patrick. sixth Earl of Dunbar, succeeded his father in 1231, at the age of forty-six. Like his predecessors he courted the favour of the church, and granted a messuage in the burgh of Dunbar to the monks of Dryburgh ; and to the canons of the same place, an annuity of a mark of silver in support of their church, on condition that they offered prayers for the safety of the souls of King William, of his own father and mother, and of his wife ; while to the monks of Melrose he renounced his claim to some disputed marches in lower Lauderdale.†

In 1235, Patrick took the field in an expedition against the Galwegians. The Scottish army under the command of Patrick earl of Dunbar, together with Adam, abbot of Melrose, and Gilbert, a monk of that convent, (lately made Bishop of Galloway,) routed the rebellious Galwegians with great slaughter, which led to tranquillity in the kingdom, and restored the daughters of Alan to their father's domains.

The Earl of Dunbar accompanied Alexander II. to York, and was a witness and guarantee of his treaty with Henry II. in 1237. In 1242 an unfortunate occurrence took place, upon which the Earl of Dunbar and other noblemen demanded justice of their prince. At a royal tournament held at Haddington, the young

* In 1240, the bones of the Abbots of Melrose, that lay in the entrance of the chapter-house, were taken up, and more decently buried in the eastern part of the chapter-house ; all, excepting the bones of St Walter, whose sepulchre was opened, and his body found crumbled to dust. Those who were present carried off some of the small bones. One of the company was William, son to the Earl of Dunbar, and nephew to the king, a knight of great fame. He begged, and obtained one of the Saint's teeth, by which he is said to have wrought many cures !—Grose's Scots Antiquities, vol. i. p. 122.

† An extensive forest anciently occupied the whole country lying northward of the Tweed, between the rivers Gala and Leader. The ancient domains of the Earls of Dunbar and March, lay on the east of this wild object of frequent contest.—Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 124.

Earl of Athol, overthrew Walter, the chief of the family of the Bissets. To revenge this affront, the same night the lodgings of the Earl were set on fire, and he, with several of his friends, was either slain or burnt to death. The king endeavoured in vain to bring this atrocious assault to regular trial, as the combination of the Cumings and other nobles against the Bissets was so strong, On this occasion, the Earl of Dunbar, (whom Lord Hailes calls the most powerful baron of the southern districts,) put himself at the head of the nobles who demanded retribution.

Shortly after this affair the Earl of Dunbar was sent to subdue the rebellious Thane of Argyle, who annoyed the people on the borders of his territories. Patrick reduced the Thane to so such extremity, that he was glad to sue for forgiveness from his prince, with a cord tied round his neck in token of submission.

The Earl of Dunbar held the first rank among the twenty-four barons who guaranteed the treaty of peace with England in 1244; but he had not long enjoyed his peerage, when he was destined to fall a martyr to one of the fanatical expeditions of that age. At the council of Lyons, held by Innocent IV., for the purpose of excommunicating Ferdinand II. from the crown of Sicily, a crusade was decreed for the quixotic purpose of recovering the Holy Land from the infidels, to be headed by Louis IX. of France. Alexander sent several chosen bands to assist his ally in this mad adventure, under the command of the Earl of Dunbar, Lindsay of Glenesk, and Stewart of Dundonald, whom Holinshed characterises as captains of great wisdom, and of experience in feats of chivalry. Patrick, however, was not destined to return; for he died in 1248, at the siege of Damietta in Egypt.*

On his marriage with Euphemia, daughter of Walter, high steward of Scotland, to him the lands of Birkenside in Lauderdale was awarded.

* Previous to his departure, in 1247, it is said, that he sold his *equicium* or stud, which he kept in the Leader haughs, to the Monks of Melrose, to defray the expense of his journey; but, as his opulence is unquestionable, it is evident, that he sold his stud, to avoid keeping an unnecessary establishment in his absence.

## CHAPTER III.

The king of Norse, in summer tyde,
Puft up with power and micht,
Landed in fair Scotland the yle,
With mony a hardy knicht.
The tydings to our gude Scots king
Came as he sat at dyne,
With noble chiefs in braif array,
Drinking the blude-reid wine.

HARDYKNUTE.

### THOMAS THE RHYMER.—THE PROPHECY.

PATRICK, seventh Earl of Dunbar, suceeded his father in 1248, In 1249, he did homage for his lands in England to Henry III.; and during the turbulent minority of Alexander III. he was one of the chiefs of the English faction. The youth of the prince, (who, on his accession to the crown, was only nine years of age,) afforded room for intrigue among those nobles who contended for the mastery. The Cumings were at the head of a powerful party, with their friends Ross and Baliol as nominal Regents, while the Earls of Dunbar, Strathern and Carrick, were at the head of the English faction. To propitiate Henry, the marriage between the Scottish prince and his daughter was soon consolidated; but new grievances arose. The young Queen especially, complained of her solitary confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, where she was debarred the embraces of her husband! Henry, who wished if possible to reconcile parties, and to obtain milder treatment for his daughter, despatched ambassadors to the Scottish court; but while the regents were their associates, the Cumings prepared to hold a parliament at Stirling, the Earl of Dunbar suddenly surprised the castle of Edinburgh, and delivered the royal pair from their confinement. The obnoxious party was now removed from their offices in the state, and the Earl of Dunbar and his confede-

rates were constituted regents of the kingdom, and guardians of their youthful sovereigns.*

This regency was however dissolved in 1253, and the Cumings again got possession of the king and queen. In the new regency the Earl of Dunbar had no place; but, in 1260, he was one of the Scottish nobles who demanded, and received security from Henry to deliver the Scottish queen and her infant at her father's court.†

In 1263, Earl Patrick, who had hitherto been actively employed in the field of politics, was seized with the pious spirit of his predecessors, and founded a monastery for Carmelites or White Friars in Dunbar, which we will have occasion to notice in the Ecclesiastical portion of this volume.

The same year, the Danes and Norwegians, taking advantage of a famine in England and Scotland, arrived before the town of Ayr on the first of August, with a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships. Having subdued the isles of Arran and Bute, they took the castle of Ayr, and proceeded on their victorious march, when Alexander, with an army of 40,000 men, opposed their progress in the vicinity of Largs. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the invaders were completely routed. The left division, consisting of the men of Lothian, Fife, the Merse, Berwick and Stirling, was led on by the Earl of Dunbar, who was severely wounded in the encounter.‡ So decisive was this victory, that it was the last time that those Gauls of the thirteenth century disturbed our "chiefs in braif array, drinking the blude-red wine."

Patrick next accompanied the Earls of Athol and Carrick to subdue the Western Isles to the allegiance of the crown; and, in 1266, when Magnus of Norway ceded the Isle of Man and the Hebrides to the Scottish king, he had the honour to append his seal to the treaty; and, further, in 1281, when, in consequence of a diminution of the royal family of Scotland, a marriage was con-

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. p. 145. † Chalmers' Cal. vol. ii. 243.
‡ Holinshed's Chron. Maitland's Hist. vol. i. 392.

cluded between the infants Margaret of Scotland and Eric of Norway, he, with his son, was among the nobles, who swore that that the marriage-contract should be fulfilled; and, in 1284, the Earl of Dunbar was second in the list of thirteen earls, who signed a requisition on the marriage of Alexander III.

Thomas Lermont of Ersildun (Earlston), the celebrated bard and prophet, (commonly called The Rhymer), visited Dunbar in 1285, and foretold to the Earl the sudden death of Alexander III., who was killed by a fall from his horse on the sands of Kinghorn.

We are circumstantially informed by Bower,* that, on the night preceding the King's death, Thomas having arrived at the castle of Dunbar, was interrogated by the Earl, in the jocular manner he wont to assume with the prophet, if to-morrow should produce any remarkable event, to which the bard, while "coming events cast their shadows before," replied, in the mystical language of prophecy: "Alas for to-morrow, a day of calamity and misery! Before the twelfth hour shall be heard a blast so vehement, that it shall exceed those of every former period. A blast which will strike the nations with amazement,—shall reduce those who hear it to a state of insensibility,—shall humble what is proud, and what is fierce shall level with the ground! The sorest wind and tempest that ever was heard of in Scotland." After this prediction, which was left to be fulfilled either by accident or the weather, Thomas retired.

Next day, the Earl and his companions having continued in watch till the ninth hour, without discovering any unusual appearance in the elements, began to doubt the prescient powers of the soothsayer, to whom it was imagined, the "sunset of life had given mystical lore," and having ordered him into their presence upbraided him as an impostor, and hastened to enjoy their wonted repast; but his lordship had scarcely placed himself at table, and the hand of the dial pointed to the hour of noon, when an ex-

* Walter Bower, abbot of St Colm, was born at Haddington in 1385. He was the continuator of Fordun as writer of the *Scotichronicon*.

press, covered with foam, appeared at the castle-gate, demanding an audience. On being interrogated, he exclaimed : " I do indeed bring news ; but of a lamentable kind, to be deplored by the whole realm of Scotland, Alas ! our renowned king, has ended his fair life at Kinghorn." " This," cried the prophet, gathering himself up in the spirit of conscious veracity, " this is the scathful wind and dreadful tempest, which shall blow such a calamity and trouble to the whole state of the whole realm of Scotland."

The messenger paused, while the Earl and his companions, rousing themselves as from a dream, beat their breasts in the agony of despair, and acknowledged that the prediction of the Rhymer had been too fatally verified.*

On the unfortunate death of Alexander, it was found necessary that the administration of public affairs should be vested in six guardians while Margaret remained in Norway, or until the Queen-dowager, who was then *enciente*, should bequeath an heir to the crown. The latter hope failed ; upon which, the infant daughter of Eric was hailed Queen of Scotland. A powerful party of the nobles were, however, averse to a female administration ; and as the Earl of Dunbar had married the daughter of the competitor Bruce, we need not be surprised that, with his three sons, he associated himself to support that interest. He did not survive to witness the desolating scenes that were destined to fall on his devoted country, but departed life's vicissitudes' stage, about the advanced age of seventy-six years, in 1289.

By Christian, only daughter of Robert Bruce, he had three sons—Patrick, John, and Alexander.†

The following prophecy Mr Pinkerton supposes to have been delivered to " Black Agnes" to Thomas the Rhymer ;‡ but Sir

* Holinshed. Irving's Lives Scots Poets, vol. i. 229.

† Wood's Douglas Peerage, vol. ii. 169.

‡ The Earls of Dunbar were principal proprietors of Ersildun,(now called Earlston,) a village near Melrose, from the twelfth century till 1435. These opulent barons granted various portions of their domain of Ersildun to several tenants in fee, among the most remarkable of which was Thomas the Rhymer.—Chalmer's Caledonia, vol. ii. 383.

Walter Scott proves that the Rhymer was dead when the heroic countess held her castle with so much glory. It might, however, have been delivered to her predecessor when the Bard visited Dunbar.

*La* COUNTESSE DE DONBAR *demande a* THOMAS DE ESSEDOUNE, *quant al guerre d'Escoce prendreit fyn. E yl l' a repoundy, et dyt ;—*

"When man is made a kyng of a capped man.
When man is lever other menes thyng than his owen.
When londe is forest, and forest is field.
When hares kendles o' the her' ston.
When Wyt and Willie weres togedere.
When men makes stables of kyrkes ; and steles castles with styes.
When Rokesboroughe nys no burgh, and market is at Forwyleye.
When the alde is gan, ant the newe is come that doue noht.
When Bambourne is donged with dede men.
When men leades men in ropes to buyen and to sellen.
When a quarter of whaty whete is chaunged for a colt of ten markes.
When prude prikes, and pees is leyd in prisoun.
When a Scot may ne hym hide ase hare in forme, that the English ne shall hym fynde.
When rycht and wronge astente the togedere.
When laddes weddeth lovedies.
When Scottes fleu so faste, that, for faute of ship, hy drowneth himselve.

When shall this be ?
Nouther in thine tyme ne in mine ;
Ah comen, ant gone,
Within twenty winter ant one."

Pinkerton's Antient Scots Poems, who quotes MS. Harleian Library.

The oldest Scottish song, which has yet been discovered, is an affectionate monody on the death of Alexander, preserved by Winton, one of the fathers of our authentic Scottish history :—

Qhen Alysandyr, oure kyng, was dede,
That Scotland led in luwe and le,
Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle.
Oure gold was changyd into lede.—
Christ born in-to virgynyte,
Succour Scotland, and remede,
That stad is in perplexyte.

Wyntowne's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 401.

## CHAPTER IV.

A consaill cryit, yaim thocht it was ye best,
In Sanct Jhonstoune yat it suld haldyn be,
Assemblit yar Clerk, Barown, and Bowrugie,
Bot Corspatrick wald nocht cum at yair call,
Baid in Dunbar, and maid scorn at yaim all.
HENRY THE MINSTREL, Book viii.

EDWARD I.—BATTLE OF DUNBAR.—SIR WILLIAM WALLACE—PERSONAL COMBAT WITH THE EARL OF DUNBAR.

PATRICK, eight Earl of Dunbar and March, (surnamed Black-beard,) succeeded to the honours and possessions of his father at the mature age of forty-seven. He was immediately called into public exertion; and appeared at the parliament of Brigham in 1290, for the purpose of betrothing the Princess Margaret to the son of Edward I.; where he is called Comes de Marchia, being the first time the Earls of Dunbar are designated by this title. But their hopes were disappointed by the death of the young queen on her voyage to Scotland.

No sooner had the news reached that country than several competitors laid claim to the crown; amongst whom was the Earl of Dunbar, as the great grandson of Ada, daughter of William the Lion. The others were, Eric king of Norway, (as heir to his daughter the late infant queen); Florence earl of Holland; William de Vescy, Robert de Pynkeny, Nicholas de Soules, Patrick Galythly, Roger de Mandeville, John Hastings, William de Ros, John Comyn, John Baliol, Robert Bruce; and Edward I. of England.* The competitors submitted their respective claims to the English monarch, and as, doubtless, a matter of necessity, bowed to his decision. He awarded the disputed sceptre to his favourite Baliol, whom he considered the most convenient tool.

* Maitland's Hist. Scotland, p. 414.

In 1294, Edward having summoned the Earl of Dunbar, and other Scottish nobles, who had estates in England, to assist him in the recovery of Gascony from Philip, Baliol, who, on this occasion, seemed inclined to conciliate the wishes of the nation, evaded the demands of the English monarch; but the Earls of Dunbar and Angus, Robert Bruce, the elder; and Bruce, Earl of Carrick, swayed by private revenge rather than their country's weal, swore fealty to Edward at Werk, on the 25th March 1296. on this submission the Earl of Dunbar had his forfeited lands and tenements in England restored.

Edward, with a powerful army, proceeded to Scotland, and the town and castle of Berwick speedily surrendered to his arms. But while the Earl of Dunbar, with the Bruces and their adherents aided the English, his heroic countess, as wishing to play a double game at "catch the king," still retained the castle of Dunbar, and delivered it to the leaders of the Scottish army. On the approach of the enemy, they exultingly spread their banners, and, in allusion to the dress of the English exclaimed: "Come hither, ye long-tailed hounds, and we will cut off your tails for you!" This bravado, however, was unhappily changed on the defeat of their countrymen.

Edward despatched the Earl of Warrene with 12,000 men to lay siege to Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility.* But the garrison were so much reduced, that they begged a cessation of hostilities for three days, in order that they might have time to inform Baliol of their situation.

The Scots, sensible of the importance of this fortress, which, if taken, laid their country open to the enemy, advanced with their main army, under the command of the Earls of Buchan, Lennox, and Mar, to its relief. This formidable army, which consisted of 40,000 men, was seen the third day after the message was sent to Bailol, "clade in burning arms," descending from the high pastoral ridges of the Lammermoors, near Dunbar.†

* Hume's England, vol. ii.

† One of the MSS. of Fordun says, that this battle was fought near Spot.—Ridpath's Border Hist.

Warrene, undaunted by the superior numbers of the Scots, left part of his army to blockade the castle while he hastened to meet them. The English descending into a valley, (probably Oswaldean, a glen near Spot,) before they could reach the Scots, the latter sent up a loud shout of exultation, and caused their horns to be sounded; but when Warrene emerged from the glen, and advanced undismayed against their formidable front, the undisciplined troops fled before him, and were pursued with great slaughter as far as Selkirk forest. The loss of the Scots on this fatal occasion was estimated at no less than 20,000 men, of which 10,000 were slain.* To account for this unusual slaughter, it was thought that the Earls of Athol and Mar, who were of the Brucian party, purposely abandoned the field to Edward, while it was reported that Bruce, in consequence of a secret conference before the battle, had influenced his friends in the Scottish army to flee on their closing with the enemy; by which means their brethren were so disconcerted, that they threw away their weapons, and were easily vanquished.

Next day, Edward, with the main body of the English army, reached Dunbar, and compelled the garrison to surrender. Among the prisoners taken in the castle, were the Earls of Ross, Athol, and Monteith; the Barons John Cumyn, William St Clair, Richard Seward and John Mowbray; besides these, thirty-one knights, one hundred esquires, and the two clerks, John de Somerville and William de St Clair, were also taken, and sent into close confinement to different castles in England.†

* Sir Patrick Grahame of Kincardine fell in this battle, 28th April, 1296, where he maintained his station, and died applauded by his enemies, a goodly knight, all dressed in harness meet.—Lord Hailes' Annals, vol. i. 261.

Sir David Grahame of Dundaff, his father, witnessed a donation to Patrick, Earl of March, to the Monastery of Coldingham in 1260.

† Fordun says, that many knights and barons fled from the battle to the castle of Dunbar, but were delivered by the treachery of Richard Seward, the keeper, to slaughter. He adds that Edward caused them all immediately to be put to different kinds of deaths. But this last circumstance is extremely improbable, and does not agree with what the same author elsewhere states in his verses on the battle, (vol. ii. 166.) where he says, the captives were imprisoned.—Ridpath's Border History, p. 199.

Edward pursued his victorious march, and, having crossed the Forth, the town of Perth, and the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin and Montrose, speedily surrendered to his arms. Terrified into submission by this rapid success, Baliol, with the nobles attached to him, hastened to appease the wrath of the English despot; and, a few days afterwards, at Kincardine, made an absolute surrender of the crown and kingdom which he so unworthily held.*

Happily, at this critical period, when monarchy seemed extinguished in Scotland, a spark rising slowly in the vale of Ellerslie, grew brighter and brighter, till it roused, like a flash from heaven, the expiring embers of the country's liberty. The fire of freedom expanded in the breast of Wallace, who took up arms to vindicate his country's honour and redress its wrongs, and after some partial successes, he was elected warden by a majority of his

* In the battle fought by Edward at Dunbar, the Scots by an impetuous imprudence, similar to what they afterwards exhibited in Cromwell's time, and nearly on the same ground, near Doonhill, in leaving the heights, where they had the advantage of the English army, lost a great number of men. The invaders thus got a double revenge for the taunting rhyme of the defenders of Berwick.

"Thus scattered Scottis
Hold I for rootis,
Of wrenches unaware;
Early in a mornyng,
In an evyle tyding,
Went ye fro Dunnbarre."

After the battle of Dunbar, according to Langtoft, following up their sarcasm, the "Inglis rymed thus:

"Oure fote folk put thaim in the polk, and nakned ther nages,
Bi no way herd I nevir say of prester pages,
Purses to pike, robis to rike, and in dike tham schoone,
Thou wiflin Scotte of Abrethin, kotte is thi home."

The above verses were evidently intended as a retort courteous, for the following Scots sarcasm on the English monarch:

"Weened Kyng Edwarde, with his lange shankes,— [surnamed
To have gete Berwyke, al our unthankes; *Langshanks.*]
Gas [gar] pikes hym,
And after gar dikes hym."

This rhyme, in which the similarity of the language to the preceding is conspicuous, is quoted by Ritson from the Harleian MS.

countrymen. But it was reserved for posterity to appreciate his character. Those in the Brucian interest watched the motions of Wallace with suspicion, and the Earl of Dunbar absolutely refused to attend a meeting of the estates at St Johnston. Notwithstanding the Estates promised to forgive what was past, on the interference of Wallace, it is said of the Earl, that

> "Licthly he leuch, in scorn as it had been,
> And said he had sic message seldom seen,
> That Wallace now as Governour sall ryng,
> Here is gret faute of a gude prince or king;
> That King of Kyll I can nocht understand,
> Of him I held never a fur of land;
> That Bachiller Trowis, for fortoun schawis her quhell,
> Tharwith to lest, it sall nocht lang be weill;
> Bot to you lords, and ye will understand,
> I make you wyss, I aw to mak na band,
> Als fre, I am in this regioun to ryng
> Lord of mine awne, as ever were prince or king;
> In Ingland als gret part of land I haif,
> Ma rent thairof thair will no man me craif.
> What will you mai, I warn you I am free,
> For your sumounds ye get na mair of me."
>
> HENRY'S Wallace, Book viii.

In this arrogant and ironical reply, (observes the euridite Tytler,) the Earl scarcely exaggerated his own power. He held one of the largest, and, from its situation, one of the most important districts in Scotland. Besides his almost impregnable castle of Dunbar, his dominion on the borders between the two kingdoms were protected by a chain of seven fortalices, which, from the warlike vigilance with which they were garrisoned and kept in repair, went by the familiar name of his *Seven War-Steeds;** and the passes communicating between his territory and the two countries on either side, were of such a nature, as to be easily held by inferior

* Of these we may instance Fast Castle, Colbrand's-path Tower, Hailes Castle, Whittingham fortalice, and Stanypeth Tower. Innerwick, Thornton, and Dunglas Castles, devolved to Lord Home, and afterwards to a branch of the ducal family of Hamilton, ancestors of the Earls of Haddington.

numbers against a far superior force; so, that it was currently reported that Earl Patrick held the keys of England at his girdle.

The patriot-hero could not brook the taunting epithet of King of Kyle, and, as Dunbar had despised his friendship, he vowed that one of the two should die; and, therefore, with two hundred men, went in pursuit of the haughty baron. Wallace was joined by Robert Lauder at Musselburgh, and afterwards by Crystal of Seton. They were met at East Linton by Squire Lyle, who informed them that the Earl had made his gathering at Cockburnspath, and was on his march to Dunbar.* Lauder was in a hurry to get thither; but Wallace, with all the diffidence of a great man, thus compliments Patrick:

> "We may at laysar ride,
> With yone power he thinkis bargane to bide;
> And of a thing ye sall weill understand
> A hardier lord is nocht into Scotland;
> Micht he be made trew stedfast till a king,
> Be wit and force he can do meiklil thing;
> Bot wilfully he likis to tyne himsell."

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* In Henry the Minstrel's "Actis and Deidis of Wallace," Squire Lyle is noticed as a person well acquainted with East Lothian, and who was of material importance to the patriot-chief, when in pursuit of the Earl of Dunbar in 1297:

> "A squeir Lyll, yat weill yat cuntrie knew,
> With twentye men to Wallace couth persew,
> Besyd Lintoun."—Book viii. line 71.

Squire Lyle, and Lauder (ancestor to the Lauders of the Bass,) were thus rewarded for their services:

> "Stantoun he gaiff to Lawder in hys wage,
> Ye knycht Wallang† aucht it in heretage.
> Yane Brygeane Cruik ‡ he gaiff Lyall § yat was wycht."—
> Book viii. line 419.

† Sir Aymer Vallance. ‡ Bridge-end Crook. § Sir Walter Lyle of Duchal.

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I have traced a tradition in allusion to Squire Lyle, which I shall introduce to the reader. Friar-Dykes in Lammermoor, an old monastic establishment, was the residence of a parson who was one day called to witness the private execution of a heretic at Popil. He was accompanied by his servant, who, by means of an aperture in the wall was an eyewitness to the horrible

Wallace encountered Patrick in a field near Innerwick, where the latter had assembled nine hundred men. The patriot-hero with half that number, compelled the Earl, after a terrible conflict, to retreat to Cockburnspath, while he fell back on Dunbar ; but, finding the castle without provisions, and the garrison wede away with their lord, he gave it in charge to Crystal of Seton, and went in pursuit of the fugitives.

In the meantime the Earl of Dunbar had gone to Northumberland to solicit the aid of the Bishop of Durham ; but his ostensible reason, says the Minstrel, was " to bring the Bruce free to his native land." Vessels were immediately sent from the Northumbrian Tyne to blockade Dunbar, and cut off supplies from the followers of Wallace, while the Earl, with 20,000 men, hastened to retake his fortress.

In the interim the champion of Scotland had repaired to the west in quest of succour, and, returning by Yester, he was joined by Hay and his chosen cavalry. With 5000 men he marched to

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deed. On their way homewards the servant told his master what he had seen, expecting that he would shudder at the relation, and simply enquired the crime for which the culprit had suffered. The priest was agitated, and said, that next morning his domestic should return with a letter to enquire into the circumstance. Meantime Robert Lyle, the laird of Stanypeth Tower, who had been disturbed in his sleep by fearful dreams, arose, buckled on his armour, and sallied forth, as he was directed in his vision, to the head of the Winding Howe. After cursing the folly of that belief, which had brought him to the spot at such an early hour, he was on the point of retiring, when, in the *weather-gloom* or twilight, he discovered a figure approaching on the verge of the hill. The Laird of Stanypeth hailed the stranger, and demanded the purport of his journey. He proved to be the servant of the parson of Friar-Dykes, who was on his way to Popil with the aforesaid letter, of which the Laird demanded an immediate perusal. Being answered in the negative, he swore that he would run the servant through the body with his sword unless that he complied with the request. Seeing resistance hopeless, the affrighted domestic delivered up his charge. The letter stated, " that as the bearer had confessed having seen the execution of the heretic, it was necessary, to prevent the stigma of murder attaching itself to the church by his report, that he also should immediately be put to death !" The courier was thunderstruck at this intelligence ; and, while he tore his death-warrant piecemeal, was glad to accept of the proffered protection of the Laird of Stanypeth by entering his service. [This tradition I inserted in the *Berwick and Kelso Warder.*]

the support of Seton, while the Bishop of Durham, who had remained at Norham with Bruce, came to the assistance of Dunbar, and riding through Lammermoor, threw himself into an ambush near Spott-moor. By this unexpected movement, Wallace was completely hemmed in, when Seton fortunately came to his relief. The two armies closed in mortal strife. The Scots pushed on so furiously against the southrons in the bloody game, that they were just about to fly, but Patrick was

> "Sa cruell of intent,
> That all his host tuk of him hardiment;" and
> "Throuch his awne hand he put mony to pain."

The desperate valour of Wallace, the Ramsays, and the Grahams, was of little avail against the superior force of the English; so that when the ambuscade of Bishop Beik appeared, they were on the point of retiring. Dunbar singled out Wallace amidst the throng, and

> "Hereat the plait with his scharp groundyn claiff
> Throuch all the stuff, and woundit him sum deill."

The hero returning the blow with sevenfold vengeance, clove down Maitland, who had thrown himself between the two adversaries. Wallace's horse was killed under him, and he was now on foot, dealing destruction to his enemies, when

> "Erle Patrick than, that had gret craft in war,
> With spears ordand guid Wallace doun to bear;"

But five hundred resolute warriors rescued their champion, and the war-worn armies were glad to retire.

The same night, Wallace traversed Lammermoor in quest of the retreating host, while Bishop Beik, Earl Patrick, and Bruce, fled to Norham. On his return, the champion, still mindful of the odium attached to his name by the Earl of Dunbar,

> "Passit, with mony awfull men,
> On Patrickis land, and waistit wonder fast,
> Tuk out guids, and places doun thai cast;
> His steads, sewin, that Mete Hamys was call'd,
> Wallace gert break the burly biggings bauld,

Baith in the Merse, and als in Lothiane,
Except Dunbar, standand he leavit nane."*

A short peace was concluded with England, in 1297, when Earl Patrick, (says the Minstrel,) having ceased to pay allegiance to Edward, held his lands of the Scottish crown, and was favourably received by Wallace. But at this time he wavered; for, in 1299, the king granted him £200 sterling, partly in money, and partly in provisions, for supplying his castle with military stores.

In 1304, the Earl of Dunbar was one of the ten representatives chosen at Perth to appear at Westminster, for the purpose of settling the police and government of Scotland; but, failing to appear, Monteith, (the base betrayer of Wallace,) was substituted in his stead.

After the barbarous beheadment of Scotland's "great patriot-hero, ill-requited chief," by Edward, at Towerhill, where every cruel indignity was shewn to a fallen foe, Robert Bruce laid aside the selfish caution that had so long tarnished his actions, and threw himself on the bosom of his country, which was ready to receive him as her approved sovereign. His first object was to subdue the Galwegians, who were still under the influence of Baliol. The Earl of Richmond, with a great army, was despatched to arrest his progress, while special orders were sent to the Earl of Dunbar, and other Scottish nobles, (the courtiers of England,) to assist the guardian in this expedition. It does not appear, however, that the Earl of Dunbar obeyed these orders; and, in like manner, in 1308, when the Earl of Dunbar and his youthful son Patrick, were summoned to support the falling interest of the English monarch in Scotland, this summons was treated with similar contempt. The blood of Wallace had not been shed in vain; for when Earl Patrick saw that the basis of the Champion's ambition was a real love to his country and the Brucian interest, he was not backward to join the cause of freedom. With his

* Ridpath supposes Metehamys, or Methamis, to signify bound or mark, from Meith or Meth; and as *ham* in the Anglo Saxon signifies a house, it is probable that "sewin Mete Hamys" signifies the seven March hamlets or villages.

country he was "entwined forever—but too late;" for, in 1309, he bad adieu to the troublous scenes of human life, at the age of sixty-six. By his wife, Marjory Comyn, daughter of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, he left one son.

## THE WALLACE MONUMENT.

The bugle ne'er sung to a braver knight,
Than Wallace of Elderslie.—CAMPBELL.

After the lapse of 550 years, tardy justice is about to be done to Scotland's "great patriot hero, ill-requitted chief." A "national Wallace Meeting," was held at Stirling, on Tuesday, 24th June, 1856, (the anniversary of the decisive battle of Bannockburn,) at which the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K. T., presided, for the purpose of raising a fund to erect a monument in memory of "his country's saviour," the champion of Scotland's independence, who despite King Edward's power, bribes, and the pussilanimity of the nobles, paved the way at Stirling bridge for the never-to-be-forgotten day of The Bruce's victory at Bannockburn.

In noticing this event, we must do honour to a patriotic nobleman. The late Earl of Buchan manifested his taste and public spirit by a variety of classic ornaments around the sylvan scenes of Dryburgh Abbey, (where repose the ashes of Sir Walter Scott,) by erecting a collossal statue of Sir William Wallace, and a Grecian temple to the memory of Thomson, the poet.

The greatest and best of public men have been traduced by their emissaries, it need not, therefore, excite surprise that Wallace, (says Dr Jamieson,) had always been spoken of, by the English, as a leader of banditti. Langtoft calls him, "William Waleis that maister was of theves;" and they represented him as a sort of Robin Hood, who had established his authority in the woods of Scotland, in the same manner as the King of merry Sherwood" had done in the forest of that name. When Gospatrick, therefore, calls Wallace "King of Kyll," we may suppose that he tauntingly means "King of the Forest," as Kyle, as well as Carrick, in Ayrshire, are derived from the Celtic words, *Coille* and *Carraig*, the former signifying a woody district, and the latter the rocky portion of the country. But in regard to comparing the Knight of Ellerslie to Robin Hood, earl of Huntington, with his squire Littlejohn, or to a Rob Roy, is absurd. Wallace had a different game to play than the deer-stealer of Sherwood forest. That Wallace was hunted as an outlaw was too truly verified. Many remote and romantic spots in the country bear the name of Wallace's cave or *hole;* and here we need but refer to the Garleton hills near Haddington. The truth was that Wallace "stalwart and strong," trusting to his single arm, often brought himself into difficulties by his reckless bravery, and was glad to escape through stratage; but woe to them who bearded the lion in his den!

At Wallace' name, what Scottish blood
But boils up in a spring-tide flood?
Oft have our fathers fearless strode
By Wallace' side,
Still pressing onward, red-wat shod,
Or glorious died.—BURNS.

## CHAPTER V.

Now's the day, and now's the hour!
See the front of battle lower!
See approach proud Edward's power,
Chains and slavery.—BURNS.

The patriot Tell—the Bruce of Bannockburn!
CAMPBELL.

BANNOCKBURN.—EDWARD'S ESCAPE TO DUNBAR.—BATTLE OF DUPLIN—DEATH OF RANDOLPH.—DEFEAT OF SIR JOHN CRAB WITH HIS FLEMISH SQUADRON.—BATTLE OF HALIDONHILL.—EDWARD'S RETREAT.—EARL OF DUNBAR JOINS BRUCE.

PATRICK, ninth Earl of Dunbar and March, succeeded his father in 1309, at the age of twenty-four, and is first noticed in history as surety for the Earl of Strathern.

As Berwick was still in the possession of the enemy, there were necessarily many English partisans in the Merse, who were reduced to great distress by the partial successes of the Brucian party; while they were exposed to the "insolence of office" in the persons of the English authorities. The Earl of Dunbar and Sir Adam Gordon were delegated to the court of England, to solicit assistance and relief. Edward immediately ordered their grievances to be redressed; and, glad of the pretext, promised to be at Berwick by mid-summer in the ensuing year, with an army well calculated to overawe the refractory to obedience.

This was indeed a pretext but too plausible and fatal. In 1314, Edward assembled forces from all quarters. He enlisted troops from Flanders and other foreign countries; he invited over numbers of the disorderly Irish, and joined to them a body of Welsh; and, assembling the whole military force of England, marched to the frontiers with an army, which amounted to 100,000 men.*

* Hume's England, vol. ii. p. 14.

These delegates, however, were unintentionally the means, in the hand of providence, of securing the freedom of their country. This immense armament, which was accompanied with all the pageantry of a Persian camp, and with bards to celebrate victories before they were achieved, melted like the pillars of an icy palace on the immortal plain of Bannockburn; and Edward, after seeing his army nearly annihilated, fled with a body of horse to Berwick. Sir James Douglas, with 400 chosen horsemen, intercepted the royal fugitive, who was fortunate to shelter himself in the castle of Dunbar. Here he was received "full gently," and by means of a fishing boat, coasted along the shore till he reached the towers of Bamborough. This was truly honourable, for Patrick must have had it in his thoughts at that time the making of peace with his native monarch, and could not be ignorant how easily and advantageously he might have done so, by detaining in custody the person of the King of England.*

After this signal defeat, which secured the independence of Scotland, the Earl of Dunbar made peace with his cousin, King Robert I., and was present at Ayr, on the 26th April, 1315, when the succession to the crown of Scotland was settled on Bruce and his heirs male.†

To atone for his youthful errors, Earl Patrick, in 1318, by his intelligence and efforts, assisted in retaking Berwick from the English, at which time he was Sheriff of Lothian; and, in 1322, he concurred with those nobles, who transmitted an energetic epistle to Pope John, asserting the independence of their country.‡

In 1331 peace was restored to the sister nations; but their tranquillity was often interrupted by the claims of those rival chieftains, who had possessions on the borders. The Bishop of Durham preferred a complaint to the Scottish regency against the Earl of Dunbar for infraction of the late treaty. The prelate

* Scott's Provincial Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 149.

† In the ninth year of Edward's reign, Henry Percy obtained a grant of the fees in Northumberland, which the Earl had forfeited.

‡ Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii. Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 247.

alleged that the village of Upsetlington, situated on the Scottish side of the river Tweed, west of Norham, was part of the right of the church of St Cuthbert or see of Durham. This place had fallen into the hands of Bruce during the war; but, after several requisitions, had been restored to its clerical owners. The Earl of Dunbar, however, in despite of this arrangement, had seized the place and issues thereof, and violently prevented the Bishop from enjoying them. Edward now interfered, and sent letters to King David, (a minor,) his guardian and the Earl, demanding restitution. The Bishop again complained to Edward, on being summoned to attend the Scottish parliament at Scone, to shew how and for what service he claimed the lands of Upsetlington. The King of England complained of this summons as being derogatory both to him and to the church, and requested that David would restrain his ministers from disturbing the Bishop in his possessions, which appears to have been complied with.*

In 1332, many of the English nobility, who had imaginary claims to estates and honours in Scotland, were men of the first rank and influence; and taking advantage of that perilous period, (the minority of a prince,) meditated a descent upon the kingdom. At this critical moment Randolph, Earl of Moray, the indefatigable Regent, died at Musselburgh; and Donald, Earl of Mar, and Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and March, were appointed, by the assembly of the estates at Perth, joint guardians in his stead: the former over the north side of the Forth, and the latter over the south.†

Lord Henry Beaumont, brother to the Bishop of Durham, is celebrated as the mover of this enterprize. While an exile in France, he is supposed to have concerted this plan with Edward Baliol, in order to recover the sceptre which the father of the latter had so impotently wielded. The King of England, who wished to make it appear that he stood aloof in the transaction, discouraged any hostile attack on Scotland through the marches of his kingdom. Accordingly, the associated Barons collected a

* Ridpath's Border Hist. p. 293. † Holinshed's Chron. vol. i.

fleet of ships at Ravenspar, near the mouth of the Humber, and sailing thence, entered the Frith of Forth on the last day of July, and disembarked at Kinghorn. A body of Scots, under Sir Alexander Seton opposed their landing, but were defeated, and their leader slain. This was the beginning of a series of victories. The conquerors advanced through Dunfermline towards Perth. In the neighbourhood, on the moor of Duplin, a great army was assembled by the Earl of Mar, to arrest their progress. The invaders, though joined by some of their Scottish friends after the affair at Kinghorn, had scarcely increased to 4000 men ; but the traitor, Sir Alexander Murray, (who was the tool of Baliol,) having affixed a pole at the ford of the river Earn, the English crossed it secretly during the night, and coming suddenly on the Scottish camp, put them to the sword. Surprise, consternation, and confusion, seized the Scottish host ; and the chieftains, rushing precipitately to repel the aggressors, were slain amidst heaps of their followers. The Earl of Mar was slain in his tent. Among " an undistinguished multitude," fell Thomas Randolph, the young Earl of Moray, (brother to the Countess of Dunbar;) Murdack, Earl of Monteith, and Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick. Duncan, Earl of Fife was taken prisoner, while the conquerors proceeding to Perth, the town surrendered without resistance.

On this fatal night the Earl of Dunbar and Lord Archibald Douglas were at Ochterarder, a few miles from the scene of battle. They speedily advanced to Perth, which was strongly fortified by the enemy. Meanwhile, Sir John Crab, who, by command of the Earl of Dunbar, had sailed from Berwick with a squadron of ten Flemish ships, for the purpose of intercepting the fleet of the English invaders, which had sailed for the Tay, suffered a complete defeat, whereby their supply of provisions was cut off, and they were reduced to the necessity of raising the siege. The Earl of Dunbar and Lord Archibald Douglas concluded a truce with Baliol till the 2nd February 1333, while the infant Bruce had to retire from the storm, and seek shelter and protection in the vallies of France, under the fostering care of Sir Malcolm Fleming.

Baliol, elated by this train of unexpected successes, assumed the name of Conqueror, and was crowned at Scone, by Duncan, Earl of Fife, and the Bishop of Dunkeld, while the clergy and barons of that district assisted in the solemnity.

The imaginary conqueror having imprudently dismissed the greater part of his English followers, was, notwithstanding the truce, suddenly attacked near Arran by Sir Archibald Douglas and other chieftains of that party. His army was routed : he was chased into England ; and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which it was obtained.*

The King of England, who was now ready to prosecute those measures for the subjugation of Scotland, which at first he seemed ashamed to avow, readily prepared to reinstate Baliol in the possession of the crown. Accordingly, with a formidable army, he proceeded to the frontiers for that purpose. As the brunt of the war was expected to fall upon Berwick, Douglas, the regent, placed a strong garrison for the defence of that place under the command of Sir William Keith, while the defence of the castle was entrusted to the Earl of Dunbar.†

Edward remained for the space of a month before Berwick ; but finding from the strength of the garrison, and their resolute defence of the place, that it could not be soon taken, he led part of his army into Scotland. On his return he found that Berwick still held out ; but being reinforced by a fresh body of troops, he renewed the siege with redoubled vigour. The garrison being at length reduced to great extremity for want of provisions, on the 15th July, a capitulation was subscribed betwixt the English monarch on the one hand, and Patrick Earl of Dunbar, and Sir William Keith on the other. The features of this agreement were, that the town and castle should be delivered to Edward on the 20th, if not previously relieved by a general engagement. This preceded the battle of Halidonhill only a few days, where the Scots were totally defeated, upon which the town and castle surrendered. After this fatal overthrow, the Scottish nobles had

* Hume's England. † Ridpath's Border History.

no immediate resource but submission ; and before Edward left Berwick, he received the fealty of the Earl of Dunbar with several others of the nobility. On this occasion Earl Patrick and Lord Henry Percy were appointed joint wardens of all the country south of the Forth.*

The castle of Dunbar, which had been dismantled and razed to the ground on the approach of the English, was now rebuilt at the Earl's own expense, for the purpose of maintaining an English garrison.

The Earl of Dunbar attended the parliament held at Edinburgh in February 1334, when Baliol ceded Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, to be annexed for ever to the English domains.† But the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Scots again revolted from the unfortunate Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance. Earl Patrick retired into the Highlands to join the friends of Bruce ; and, in April 1335, attended the parliament held by the Regent at Dairsie in Fife.‡ The same year, when Edward III. and Baliol made another descent on Scotland, the Earl of Dunbar cut off a body of archers on their return southward ; and he afterwards assisted the Earl of Moray in defeating the Count of Namur on the Borough-moor of Edinburgh.

The Earl of Dunbar, along with Sir William Douglas, accompanied the guardian, Sir Andrew Murray, for the purpose of rescuing the lady of the latter, who was besieged by the Earl of Athol in the castle of Kildrummy. They were met by the enemy in the forest of Kilblain, and were on the point of falling before superior numbers, when a sortie from the castle recovered their scattered forces, slew the Earl of Athol, and completely routed his adherents.

* Ridpath's Border Hist. 310. † Hume's England, ii.
‡ Douglas' Peerage, vol. ii.

## CHAPTER VI.

Once more unto the breach, dear friends! once more,
Or fill the wall up with our English dead.

Hang out our banner on the outward wall;
The cry is still, "They come!" Our castle's strength
Will laugh a siege to scorn.—SHAKESPERE.

GRAND SIEGE OF THE CASTLE.—DEFENDED BY BLACK AGNES—KING DAVID BRUCE.—BATTLE OF DURHAM.—PILGRIMAGE TO THE TOMB OF BECKET.

AT this period the castle of Dunbar was a great annoyance to the English subjects in the Scottish territory, The excursions of the garrison along the fruitful coast, rendered the public road betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh unsafe for travellers, while its port of Lammer Haven, under the shelter of the fortress, "grim rising o'er the rugged rock," afforded a convenient and safe reception for aids and supplies from France, and other places on the continent: Hence the reduction of this stronghold became of great moment to Edward, on the certain prospect of an immediate war with France.

In January 1337, William Montague, Earl of Salisbury, together with the Earl of Arundel, to whom the King had left the chief command of the forces in Scotland, attempted this enterprise with a large army. At this important crisis, the Earl of Dunbar was employed with the Guardian in reducing the fortresses in the north; so that the defence of this fortress devolved upon the Countess, a lady who, from the darkness of her complexion, was commonly called *Black Agnes;* and by whose vigilant and patriotic conduct has immortalized her name.

Agnes, Countess of Dunbar, was daughter of the celebrated Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and sister to the Earl of that

name who fell at Duplin ; and of his successor who was made prisoner in the affray with Count Namur, and who was at this time a prisoner in England. These circumstances inspired sentiments of resentment against the English in the breast of our heroine, which neither the strategems of art could surprise, nor the terrors of danger dismay. The castle, which was newly fortified, from its situation on rocks nearly surrounded by the sea, was deemed impregnable. But against the natural strength of the fortress we must bring the most consummate generals of the age. Arundel was afterwards constable at the battle of Cressy, and Salisbury commanded the rear at the battle of Poictiers, while the besiegers were the chosen troops that had been victorious in the late invasions.

"And do they come?" Black Agnes cried,
Nor storm, nor midnight stops our foes ;
Well, then, the battle's chance be tried,
The Thistle shall *out-thorn* the Rose.

"She spake, and started from her bed,
And cased her lovely limbs in mail ;
The helmet on her *coal-black* head,
Sluiced o'er her eyes,—an iron veil !

"In her fair hand she grasped a spear,
A baldrick o'er her shoulders flung,
While loud the bugle-note of war,
From Dunbar's cavern'd echoes rung."

BLACK AGNES : a Poem.*

During the siege, Agnes performed all the duties of a bold and vigilant commander. When the battering engines of the English hurled stones or leaden balls against the battlements, she, as in scorn, ordered one of her maids, splendidly dressed, to wipe off, with a clean white handkerchief, the marks of the stroke. The castle continued to "laugh a siege to scorn," when the Earl of Salisbury, with vast labour, brought that enormous machine, the

* This poem I picked up at York, in a bookseller's shop, near the venerable Minster, on the tower of which I spent an agreeable hour, gazing on those vast Ridings, as large as some of the German principalities.

*sow*, to bear against the walls ; but, like the Roman darts at the siege of Jotapata, it rung harmless against the rock.

The Countess, who awaited the approach of this new engine of destruction, being full of taunts, exclaimed :

> " Beware Montagow,
> For farrow shall thy sow !" *

(meaning the men within it,) when a large fragment of the rock was hurled from the battlements, and crushed the cover to pieces, with the poor little pigs, (as Major calls them,) who were lurking under it. And although there is no royal road to poetry, upon the authority of this couplet, Ritson has admitted Agnes into the company of the Scottish poets !

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The following is an account of the siege, by ANDREW WYNTON, canon regular of St Andrews, and prior of Lochleven, who flourished about 1360. Rude as his couplets may appear to the admirers of Friar William Dunbar and Sir David Lindsay, his pages are much prized by the learned for the prospects of society which they represent, and the early circumstances of history they record. As Wynton lived at a time within the memory of man when the siege of the castle took place, his information must have been gathered from oral sources.

" *Of the Assiege of* DUNBARE,
*Where the* COUNTESS *was wise and ware :*

A. D. [1336-1338.]

SCHYRE William Montague, that sua (*consequently*)
Had tane the siege. in hy gret ma
A mekil and right stalwart engine,
And up smartly gert dress it : syne
They warpit at the wall gret stanes
Baith hard and heavy for the nanys, (*purpose*)
But that nane merryng to them made,
And alsua when they castyne had,
With a towel, a damiselle
Arrayed jollily and well,
Wippit the wall, that they micht see
To gere them mair annoyed be.

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* The *Sow* was a military engine, resembling the Roman testudo. It was formed of wood, covered with hides, and mounted on wheels, when, being rolled forward to the foot of the besieged wall, it served as a shed or cover to defend the miners, or those who wrought the battering ram, from the stones and arrows of the garrison.—Border Minstrelsy, vol. i. 40.

Few of the assailants were able to return to their trenches. Finding the arts of forcible and open assault unavailing, Salisbury next attempted to gain the castle by treachery. Means were employed to bribe the porter who had charge of the gate. This he

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There, at the siege, well lang they lay,
But there little vantage got they ;
For when the bykkyne wald, or assail,
They tint the maist of their travaile.
And as they bygeryd there a' day,
Of a great shot I shall you say,
For that they had of it ferly,
I here to you rehearse will I.
William of Spens percit a Blasowne, (*blazoned Armorial bearings*)
And thro' three faulds of Awbyrchowne, (*habergeon*)*
And the Actowne † through the third ply,
And the arrow in the bodie,
While of that dynt there dead he lay ;
And then the Montagu gan say,
" This is ane of my Lady's *pinnis*,
Her amouris thus, till my heart rinnis."
While that the siege was there on the wise,
Men sayis there fell sair juperdyis.
For Lawrence of Prestoun, that then
Haldin ane of the wichtest men,
That was in all Scotland that tide,
A rout of Inglismen saw ride,
That seemed gude men and worthy,
And were arrayed right richly ;
He, with as few folk, as they were,
On them assembled he there ;
But, at the assembling, he was there,
Intil the mouth stricken with a spear,
While it up in the harnys ran ;
Till a dike he withdrew him than,
And died ; for nae mair live he micht.
His men his death perceived noucht ;

* A coat made of several folds of leather, cotton, wool, &c. and covered with mail of small rings riveted together, or small pieces of iron like fish scales.

† Quilted covering for the body made of strong leather.

agreed to do; but disclosed the transaction to the Countess. Salisbury, at the head of a chosen party, commanded this enterprise in person, and found the gates open to receive him. The officiousness of John Copeland, one of his attendants, saved the

---

While they them vanquish'd utterly.
And with their faes faucht stoutly,
Thus was this gude man brought till end,
That was richt greatly to commend.
Of gret wirschipe (*manhood*) and gret bownte (*goodness*),
His saul be aye in saftie.
  Sir William als of Galstown
Of Keith, that was of gude renown,
Met Richard Talbot by the way
And set him to sa hard assay,
That to a *kirk* he gert him gae,
And close there defence to ma;
But he assailed there sa fast,
That him be-hov'd treat at the last,
And twa thousand pound to pay,
And left hostage, and went his way.
  The Montagu was yet lyand,
Sieging Dunbare with stalwart hand;
And twa gallies of Genoa had he,
For till assiege it by the sea.
And as he thus assiegend lay,
He was set intil hard assay;
For he had purchased him covyn (*secret agreement*)
Of ane of them, that were therein,
That he should leave open the yete
And certain term till him then set
To come; but they therein halily
Were warnit of it privily.
He came, and the yet open fand,
And wald have gane in foot steppand;
But John of Cowpland, that was then
But a right poor simple man,
Shut him off, back, and in is gane,
The Portcullis came down on ane;
And spared Montagu, thereout
They cryed, with a sturdy shout,

the general from the snare. Copeland hastily passed before the Earl, the portcullis was let down, and the trusty squire, mistaken for his lord, remained a prisoner. Agnes, who from the southern

---

" A Montagu for evermair !"
Then with the folk that he had there,
He turned to his Herbery,
And let him japyt fullyly.
Syne Alexander, the Ramsay,
That trowed and thought, that they
That were assieged in Dunbar,
At great distress or mischief were ;
That in an evening frae the Bass,
With a few folk that with him was,
Toward Dunbar, intil a boat,
He held all privily his gate ;
And by the gallies all slyly
He gat with his company.
The lady, and all, that were there,
Of his coming well comfort were :
He issued in the morning in hy,
And with the wachis sturdily,
Made ane apart, and stout melle,
And but tynsel entered he.
While Montagu was there lyand,
The King Edward of England
Purchased him help, alyawns,
For he wald amowe were in France ;
And for the Montagu he sends :
For he cowth (*bring*) nae thing till end
For owtyn him, for that time he
Was maist of his counsel privie,
When he had heard the king's bidding
He removed, but mair dwelling,
When he, I trow, had lying there
A quarter of a year and mair.
Of this assiege in their hethyng (*derison*)
The English oysid to make karping
" I vow to God, she makes gret stere
The Scottish wenche ploddere, (*fighter*)
Come I aire, come I late,
I fand ANNOT at the yate."

WYNTOWNIS CHRONYKIL, Book viii. cap. 33.

tower observed the event, cried to Salisbury jeeringly, "Adieu, Monsieur Montague; I intended that you should have supped with us, and assisted in defending this fortress against the robbers of England."

Thus unsuccessful in their attempts, the assailants turned the siege into a blockade, and closely environed the castle by sea and land. Amongst the ships were two large Genoese gallies, commanded by John Doria and Nicholas Fiesca. But famine was threatening to effect what force and art could not achieve. In consequence of the protracted siege the garrison was reduced to the utmost extremities for want of provisions; this intelligence reached Sir Alexander Ramsay, a bold and enterprising officer, who having procured a light vessel with a supply of provisions and military stores, sailed in a dark night, with forty chosen companions, from the contiguous rock of the Bass, and, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, he entered the castle by a postern next the sea, and brought relief and refreshment to the desponding soldiers. Next morning, Ramsay made a smart sortie on the besiegers, killing and surprising them at their posts, and taking many prisoners; and the same night he completed the glory of his stratagem, by passing from the castle in the same manner, and with the same safety, with which he had entered.

The English having vigorously prosecuted the siege for six weeks, were compelled to abandon this hopeless enterprise.* Besides the commanders of the army, there were present on this occasion, the Earl of Gloucester, Lords Percy and Neville. Holinshed asserts that Edward was present himself. At all events, he spent some days at Berwick at that period, and if he was not present, at least gave orders to abandon the siege of Dunbar.

While the Countess thus gallantly defended her husband's "strong-house†" at Dunbar, he was employed along with the

* Salisbury even consented to a cessation of arms, and departing into the south, intrusted the care of the Borders to Robert Manners, William Heron, and other Northumbrian barons.

† Often so called in Records of these times.—Ridpath.

guardian, Sir William Douglas, and other loyal nobles, in reducing the fortresses on the other side of the Forth. After defeating a great body of Englishmen at Panmure, they took the castles of St Andrews and Leuchars, and the tower of Falkland, and destroyed them: the castle of Cupar alone resisted their utmost efforts. In March, they reduced the castle of Bothwell, while this extraordinary success is ascribed to the use of machines sent over from France, accompanied by French engineers.*

The failure of the English at Dunbar led to important consequences. It encouraged Sir Andrew Murray to lay siege to Stirling, and essentially contributed to animate the courage, improve the union, and augment the numbers of the Brucian party.

In 1339, the Earl of Dunbar assissted Lord Robert Stewart, who was elected guardian on the death of Murray, in the reduction of Perth, and led the second division of the army.

The Scots during the year 1340, made several successful inroads into England, in which Sir Alexander Ramsay, who had brought such timeous succour to Dunbar at the late siege, particularly distinguished himself. A party, however, headed by the Earls of Dunbar and Sutherland was less successful; for they were routed by Lord Grey and Sir Robert Manners, assisted by John Copeland and the garrison of Roxburgh.

Edward having again entered Scotland with a powerful army, the Scots were induced to sue for a truce for the space of six months. On this occasion, there was a safe-conduct, dated Westminster, 24th March 1342, granted to the Earl of Dunbar and others, to visit any place in England or Scotland under the King's authority, to treat with him for a final peace; but what was determined in consequence of this meeting is not related.

David Bruce, who had reached his seventeenth year, returned with his consort from France; and the Earl of Dunbar now attended his youthful monarch as assiduously as a counsellor, as he had formerly acted daringly for him as a soldier. He was witness to many charters granted by David at this turbulent period.

* Fordun says, that the Governor prevailed in the siege of the fortresses mentioned, by the dread of a certain engine, called *Boustour*.—Ridpath.

In 1343, in a skirmish near Berwick, Lord Ralph Neville was taken prisoner, and sent to Dunbar; whence he was speedily ransomed.

In 1346, while the King of England was engaged at the siege of Calais, David Bruce thought it a favourable opportunity to aid his ally the King of France. Entering Northumberland at the head of 50,000 men, he carried his ravages to the gates of Durham; but Queen Philippa, assembling a body of troops, intrusted the command to Lord Percy, and met him at Neville's Cross, near that city. The Scottish army formed into one line. The High Steward of Scotland and the Earl of Dunbar commanded the right, the Earls of Moray and Douglas the left; while David, with some French auxiliaries, and the flower of his nobility, supported the centre. The English archers began the battle with showers of arrows on the left, which galled the right division so severely, that the body under the Earl of Dunbar charging, plied their broad-swords and battle-axes so dexterously, that they drove the bowmen back upon the party commanded by Percy, and occasioned great confusion and disorder. At this critical period, Baliol advanced upon the Earl with a large body of horse; and not only supported the archers who had given way, but obliged the party under the High Steward and the Earl of Dunbar to sound a retreat, which they effected with inconsiderable loss. The English now pressed upon the division commanded by David in person, who refused to quit the field; while his followers ashamed to forsake their prince, formed a phalanx around him, and fought valiantly, till not above eighty of them remained.*

* We cannot avoid quoting the following descriptive lines from "Marmion," in which the position of King David is vividly sketched, although he happily escaped the fate of James IV.

> "The English shafts in vollies hail'd,
> In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
> Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep,
> To break the Scottish circle deep,
> That fought around their King;
> But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
> Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,

The king at length overpowered, surrendered to John Copeland, after having knocked out two of that gentleman's teeth with his gauntlet. The remaining division of the Scots, commanded by Moray and Douglas, intimidated by the fate of their companions, was soon routed. Moray was slain in the field, Douglas was taken prisoner, and few of their followers escaped. This battle took place, 17th October 1346.

Amongst the nobles who fell in the field of Durham, was Thomas, Earl of Moray, brother to the heroic Countess of Dunbar. As he had no male issue, Agnes became sole possessor of his vast estates; and her husband assumed the additional title of Earl of Moray. Besides the earldom of Moray, the Earl of Dunbar and his Countess obtained the Isle of Man, the lordship of Annandale, the baronies of Morton and Tibbers in Nithsdale, of Morthingtoun and Longformacus, and the manor of Dunse in Berwickshire; with Mochrum in Galloway, Cumnock in Ayrshire, and Blantyre in Clydesdale.

But "the gallant knights had left their monarch bound;" for Scotland again deprived of its regal ruler by the captivity of its sovereign, the guardianship devolved on Robert the High Steward; who, with the Earl of Dunbar, had returned in safety from the tented field, not without suspicion of having deserted the King; which, with more credibility, may be imputed to the Steward, who was heir-apparent to the crown.

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Unbroken was the ring;
The stubborn spear-men still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight;
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well;
Till utter darkness closed the wing
O'er their thin host and wounded king,
Then did their loss the Scottish know,
Their king, their lords, and mightiest low,
To town and tower, to down and dale,
To tell red Flodden's dismal tale."—SCOTT.

After the surrender of Calais, a truce was agreed on between the kings of France and England, in which the Scots were included. During this peace the Earl of Dunbar busied himself, without effect, to obtain the liberation of David, offering his son and heir as an hostage, which evidently exculpates him from the blame of having forsaken the king.

In 1355, the truce, which had been prolonged for eight years, expired; when the Scots, exasperated that Edward would not listen to any proposals for the liberation of their king, had already commenced their destructive inroads into Northumberland. The Earl of Dunbar and Lord William Douglas having united their forces for this purpose, despatched Sir William Ramsay of Dalhousie with an advanced party to destroy the populous village of Norham and the country adjacent, which he effected; and, in order to inveigle a large body of the enemy, who were approach-in the pursuit, he retreated, with a great booty of cattle, to Nisbet-moor in Berwickshire. The main body of the Scots, who waited in ambush, with their French auxiliaries, rushed upon the English, and completely routed them after a gallant resistance.

Encouraged by this success, a scheme was formed for the recovery of Berwick. The Earl of Angus in concert with the Earl of Dunbar, having collected a number of ships, filled them with chosen warriors; and, in a dark night, passed over to the north side of the Tweed; thence they moved unobserved to the foot of the walls of Berwick, and, by the dawn of next morning, the town was in their possession. In this assault the English lost two knights, and the Scots no fewer than six; while the whole wealth of the town fell a prey to the victors.

But this acquisition was of short duration. Edward III., who had just landed from Calais, crowned with victory, thought the place of so much importance, that he was there with his army by the 14th January 1356; and, as the castle was still in the hands of the English, the Scots, on his approach, applied the torch to the town, and abandoned it to the invader.

In 1357, the Earl of Dunbar was one of the plenipotentiaries who met at Berwick, to adjust the liberation of King David. It

was one of the articles of the treaty, that David should deliver up to the king of England twenty hostages, heirs of the chief families in the kingdom; the principal of whom were, the sons of Robert, Steward of Scotland, of the Earls of Dunbar, Sutherland, &c.; and that three out of eight of the principal nobles of the kingdom, (amongst whom is mentioned the Earl of Dunbar,) should also enter themselves hostages on the delivering up of the king, not to be relieved otherwise than by others of the same number supplying their place.*

As some difficulty occurred in paying the King's ransom, (100,000 merks sterling yearly, during ten years,) the Earl of Dunbar thrice visited the court of England, in 1358, to adjust matters; and, again, in 1359 and 1360, a safe-conduct was granted him to treat with the English on certain articles respecting David Bruce.†

To reward his services, he obtained many favours from his ransomed prince: he was granted a legal right to assume the earldom of Moray, and to receive what it had yielded in rent and profit from 1346 to 1360; he obtained a grant of all the castle-wards within his own lands, during life; and a pension of £40 sterling, (dated 3d July 1362,) during the king's pleasure; and his town of Dunbar was erected into a royal burgh, while, on the other hand, Edward III. resented the hostile conduct of the border chieftain, by granting some of his estates to strangers.

It was fashionable at that period to make pilgrimages to the tomb of Becket. In 1362–63, and again in 1366, the Earl of Dunbar joined the vast swarms that visited the sacred fane of Canterbury. These devotional longings, which were often used for political purposes, have furnished subject matter to Chaucer, one of the earliest English poets, in his admirable tale of "The Pilgrims."

After a life spent amidst the din of arms and alternate strife, the Earl of Dunbar seems to have subsided into the calm of piety. In May 1367, he confirmed to the monks of Coldingham, by a

* Douglas' Peerage, ii. † Chalmers' Caledonia, ii.

charter to the prior and convent of Durham, the manors of Ederham and Nisbet, with the church of Ederham and Nisbet. This confirmation was witnessed by his relation, George de Dunbar, Alexander Ricklynton,* constable of Dunbar ; Robert Lecke, his steward ; while his wife Agnes, Countess of Dunbar and Moray, ratified the whole, which was confirmed by David in the August following.

The Earl was again called on, to assist at a convention, for preserving the peace of the Borders ; and in June 1368, the king was advised by the parliament of Scone, to consult the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas on the security of the eastern marches. This appears to have been the last public service that Earl Patrick performed. Wearied with the toils of active life, at the advanced age of eighty-four, he bade adieu to the tented field and the gaudy court, and resigned his earldom and estates to his eldest son George. His death must have taken place betwixt this period and 1371, as he was not present at the coronation of Robert II., which took place in that year.

By his heroic lady, Agnes, daughter of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, regent of Scotland, he had issue as follows: George, tenth Earl of March; John, Earl of Moray; Lady Margaret, married to William, first Earl of Douglas: Lady Agnes,† married to James Douglas, Lord Dalkeith: and Lady Elizabeth, married to John Maitland of Lethington,‡ ancestor of the Earls of Lauderdale.

* In 1364, the Earl of Dunbar granted to Alexander Ricklynton, who had been his *armiger* for twenty years, half of the lands of East Spott, with the tenandries within Whitsome in Berwickshire, which Sir Patrick Ramsay had resigned in the Earl's court at Whittingham. This grant was confirmed by David II. Rycklynton offered his adorations at the tomb of Becket in 1365, with six horsemen in his suite. In 1368, the Earl also made a munificent grant to his *alumnus* John de Hepburn.—Robertson's Index. Chalmer's Caledonia, ii.

† Lady Agnes Dunbar got as her marriage portion from her brother, the lands of Mordington in Berwickshire, confirmed by Robert II., 6th December 1372 ; Whittingham, in the county of Haddington ; and L.100 worth of land in the Isle of Man.—Douglas' Peerage, vol. ii.

‡ When the second Earl of Lauderdale was created Duke, he chose for his second title that of Marquis of March, to indicate his descent from the Earls of March and Dunbar.

## CHAPTER VII.

It fell upon the Lammas tide,
When the muir-men win their hay,
The doughty Earl of Douglas rode
Into England to catch a prey.—*Old Ballad.*

For why? sufficeth them to know
The good old rule, the simple plan;
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.—WORDSWORTH.

THE BORDER FORAYS—AFFRAY AT ROXBURGH FAIR—COMBAT BETWIXT HOTSPUR AND DOUGLAS—BATTLE OF OTTERBURN.

GEORGE, the first of that name, and tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, when he succeeded his father in 1369, was twenty-nine or thirty years of age. From the vast possessions he inherited both from his father and heroic mother, he became one of the most powerful nobles of southern Scotland, the rival of the Douglasses, whom, the author of Caledonia observes, he surpassed in the antiquity of his house, and the splendour of his descent.

On the death of David II. in 1370, William, Earl of Douglas, laid claim to the crown in right of Baliol and Cuming, in opposition to Robert Stewart, who had been legally settled heir to the throne. But when he found that the Earls of Dunbar and Moray were not inclined to support this usurpation, he abandoned the enterprize; they having declared for Stewart, who was descended from Robert Bruce by the female side.*

In 1371, the Earl was present at Scone, when the Earl of Carrick was proclaimed the heir of Robert; and, in 1372, the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas, who were joint wardens of the marches, made an explanatory agreement with the Bishop of Durham and Henry Percy, in regard to the more regular payment of King David's ransom.

* Holinshed's Chronicle.

An affray happened at this time, which marks the ungovernable temper of the border chieftains, "with whom revenge was virtue." At a fair, held at Roxburgh in August, to which multitudes resorted from both kingdoms, one of the household servants of the Earl of Dunbar was slain by the English. The Earl applied to Lord Percy, warden of the opposite Marches, for redress; but as no satisfactory answer was returned, a cruel mode of retaliation was adopted. On the return of Roxburgh fair, in the following year, Earl George and his brother the Earl of Moray, accompanied by their friends and followers, attacked the town by surprise, put the English to death, and applying the torch to the houses, carried off the spoil in triumph. The southerns immediately followed up this inroad by ravaging the adjoining lands of Sir John Gordon, who promptly made repayment in kind. This led to a more serious invasion; for to avenge these losses and insults, Lord Percy entered Scotland with 7000 men, and encamped near Dunse; but his farther progress was happily stopt by a simple expedient adopted by the peasantry in the neighbourhood. They made use of a kind of rattle, composed of dried skins, distended round ribs of wood, filled with pebbles, and fixed on long poles for the purpose of frightening the deer and wild cattle from their corn. These bags, when vigorously shaken, made a hideous noise. A number of these machines being placed on the adjacent hills during the night startled the English horses, which, breaking away from their keepers, became the prey of the Scots. The army being awakened by this strange noise, and finding themselves deprived both of their horses and beasts of burden, retreated on foot towards the Tweed with the greatest trepidation, leaving their baggage behind them.*

Nothing material occurred during the few remaining years of the reign of Edward III.; but, on the accession of Richard II., the flame which the Borderers had roused at the tryst of Roxburgh was destined to be rekindled. Percy, who was now created

* Ridpath's Border Hist.

Earl of Northumberland, entered Scotland with 10,000 men; and, for the space of three days, ravaged the lands of the Earl of Dunbar:—thus evincing, that the two wardens, placed there for the peace of others, were continually engaged in broils of their own. The respective governments were now compelled to interfere; and commissioners were appointed for the purpose of quieting these disorders, and making reparation for their mutual injuries. But on the night before the feast of St Andrew, about the time these negotiations should have begun, the castle of Berwick was suddenly surprised, by seven desperate fellows from the Scottish border. This new breach of the peace was complained of to the Earl of Dunbar, who, however, disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction.*

At the period of 1380, the Scots gained considerable advantages on the western borders, partly owing to a want of circumspection in those who had the administration of affairs during the minority of their King. This probably induced John, Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, and chief of the English regency, to come north at the head of a great army, vested with powers to treat with the King of Scotland, and to regulate Border differences. Accordingly, the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas, and Lord Galloway, (then wardens of the Marches,) accompanied by the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, met the Duke at Berwick; but arrangements were postponed till the 12th June, in order that the Earl of Carrick, eldest son of Robert II., might be present at the conference. This congress again met at Abchester, near Ayton, on the days appointed; and, on the 18th, a truce was concluded between the rival parties to continue till Candlemas 1384.†

During the truce, Earl George, with other Scottish nobles, performed a pilgrimage to the Saint of Canterbury.‡ These pious rambles were as usual followed by bloody encounters; for scarcely had the truce expired, when the Scots took the castle of Lochmaben. This turned the attention of the English to the security

* Ridpath's Border Hist. † Ibid. ‡ Chalmers' Caledonia, ii.

of Roxburgh ; and, while the Baron of Graystock, with his furniture and family, proceeded with a convoy of ammunition and provision for its relief, the Earl of Dunbar " o'ertook the spoil-encumbered foe," and, with his baggage, led the baron captive to the castle of Dunbar.*

In fulfilment of the treaty between the French and Scots in 1385, John de Vienne, the French admiral, arrived in Scotland with 2000 auxiliaries and 50,000 livres. The money was distributed among the nobility ; and of this filthy lucre, Earl George pocketed 4000 livres, and the Earl of Douglas 7000.†

Meanwhile, to disconcert the designs of the Scots and their allies, Richard II. entered Scotland at the head of a powerful army. The Scots, who knew that their strength lay in their secret ambushes, fled before the invaders ; and Richard, harassed by their flying parties, found himself surrounded by famine in a deserted land. After setting fire to Edinburgh and the beautiful abbey of Melrose, and committing other devastations, he retraced his steps homeward, like a destructive volcano returning to its inflammable source.

During the English invasion, the Earls of Fife, Dunbar and Douglas, crossing the western border with an army of 50,000 men, plundered and laid waste the country to the precincts of Newcastle. They also took the castles of Wark, Ford, and Cornhill ; and were on the eve of proceeding to the reduction of Roxburgh, when disputes arising between them and their auxiliaries respecting the right of conquest, they abandoned this enterprise.

Hostilities were continued on the borders till the middle of the summer of the following year, when a truce was concluded at Billymyre in Berwickshire, between the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas on the one hand, and Lord Neville on the other.

But these truces were, as usual, " like angel-visits, short and far between." The Scots, in 1387, made another successful inroad over the western march. At this time, however, the Earl

* Ridpath's Border Hist. † Chalmers' Caledonia, ii.

of Dunbar seems to have been at peace with his neighbours; for, towards the end of the year, he obtained a safe-conduct from the English king, who allowed him to enter his territories with a hundred horsemen in his train, and to remain for the space of six months.*

In a parliament assembled by Robert II. at Aberdeen, in 1388, it was decreed, that a powerful army should invade the English borders to retaliate some ravages which had been lately committed in Berwickshire. James, Earl of Douglas, with the Earl of Dunbar and his brother the Earl of Moray, invaded Northumberland and Durham with 3000 men; while the Earls of Fife and Strathern, (the king's sons,) entered Cumberland with a still more numerous host.†

Douglas having penetrated to Newcastle, encamped in the neighbourhood, where Henry Percy (surnamed Hotspur,) "whose spirit lent a fire, even to the dullest peasant in his camp," lay in garrison. Percy, willing to shew some proof of his personal prowess, challenged Douglas to single combat. In the first encounter the English knight was unhorsed, and had been taken prisoner, but for the timely interference of the garrison. Douglas carried off Percy's lance with the pennon attached to it, and, waving it on high, swore that he would carry it home to Scotland as a trophy of victory.

> ——"That furious Scot,
> The bloody Douglas, whose well-labouring sword
> Had three times slain the appearance of the king."—*Shakespere.*

Burning with revenge, Hotspur and his brother Ralph, immediately collected an army thrice as numerous as the Scots, and, taking the benefit of a moonlight march, suddenly attacked them in their camp at Otterburn. This assault came like a thunderbolt. The Earls of Douglas, Dunbar and Moray, who were sitting at supper in a tent, had scarcely time to reach their armour. ‡

* Ridpath's Border Hist. † Holinshed's Chron.
‡ Heron's Hist. Scotland.

The action, which was long and doubtful, was fought with uncommon gallantry on both sides. At one moment, the Scots giving way, the English had nearly penetrated to the Scottish standards, when Patrick Hepburn,* with his son and company, coming up gallantly supported the falling battalions. The Earl of Douglas now approaching, armed with a ponderous mace, and accompanied only by his chaplain and two squires, rushed into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and, after prodigies of valour, fell covered with wounds. He desired his followers, who had come to his rescue, to conceal his death, and avenge his fall. "I die like my forefathers," said the expiring chief, "in a field of battle, and not on a bed of sickness. Conceal my death, defend my standard, and avenge my fall. It is an old prophecy, that a dead man shall gain a field, and I hope it will be accomplished this night."†

The Scots having again raised the standard of their fallen commander, shouted, "A Douglas! a Douglas!" and rushed on with redoubled vigour to the conflict. The fight continued with great obstinacy till the morning, when the English were completely

* Holinshed gives the following account of the origin of the Hepburns: In the reign of David II. a gentleman of that name, an Englishman, on being taken prisoner by the Scots, was present while the Earl of Dunbar was exercising a young gelding. The animal proving restive, the Earl was in imminent danger of his life, when Hepburn leaping forward, boldly seized the bridle rein, and held the animal till the Earl alighted. In reward for this essential service, the Earl gave Hepburn certain lands in Lothian.

This afterwards powerful family in East Lothian, were usually in close alliance with the Homes of Berwickshire. The chief of the clan Hepburn, was Lord of Hailes: a family which terminated in the too famous Earl of Bothwell.

† Border Minstrelsy, vol. i.

One circumstance connected with the death of Douglas is too characteristic of the times to be omitted. His chaplain, a priest of the name of Lundie, had followed him to the war, and fought during the whole battle at his side. When his body was discovered, this warrior-clerk was found bestriding his dying master, wielding his battle axe, and defending him from injury. He became afterwards Archdeacon of North Berwick.—Froissart's Chronicle, par Buchon, vol. xi.

"A Douglas dead! his name has won the field."—HOME.

routed, and the two Percies taken prisoners.* On this signal defeat, the Northumbrians retired; but the Bishop of Durham, who had arrived too late at Newcastle to join the army of Percy, now advanced with fresh forces. The Scots, who were encumbered with their prisoners, were placed in imminent danger in the event of a rencounter with the enemy; but still flushed with victory, they prepared to meet them, and, according to John Major, were encouraged with these memorable words of the Earl of Dunbar:—

"We have this night, most noble Scots, sustained the chief heat and force of the battle; we have overthrown the youth and strength of Northumberland, with their two princes; for which there is no cause why we, after such honour obtained against those valiant princes, should now fear this silly priest. Truly there remaineth nothing now for us, but that every one of us give but two strokes; because the leader will fly at the third, and all the flock will follow: since the shepherd being stricken, the sheep will be dispersed. But if they shall so long contend with us, that, (as God most rightly forbid,) we chance to be overcome, then shall we most shamefully lose the glory, which we before have honourably gained by this night's travail. But contrary, if we be men, and put on us such valiant hearts, (as the preservation of honour requireth,) we shall easily teach this mitred priest, that it had been far more honour to him, safety to his, and most commodity to them all, that he had remained at home, with rods to correct unbridled and negligent scholars, than with swords to enter battle against grown and bearded soldiers."

Having thus spoken, the Scots who remained securely entrenched in their encampment, agreeably to a preconcerted plan, set up a loud shout with their favourite war-horns, which being echoed among the hills, made the English believe their army considerably strengthened, upon which the Bishop retired, without

* Harding says, that Hotspur was taken at Dunbar:

"Henry was taken there anone,
To Dunbar led, for whom was made great mone."

attempting the rescue of the Percies. This battle was fought in August 1388.

It was fortunate for the Scots, that the command of them now devolved on the Earl of Dunbar, the most prudent general of his age. As his circumspection constantly predominated over his courage, he was almost always successful in his various battles. The Earl of Dunbar conducted his army with the prisoners to the the Tweed; carrying the adored remains of the gallant Douglas to Melrose, the sacred cemetery of his valiant family.

Hostilites continued on the Borders till peace was concluded at Lelinghen between England and France, in 1389, in which the Scots were as usual included. Robert, King of Scotland, died in the following year, and was succeeded by his eldest son John Earl of Carrick, who, on ascending the throne, assumed the name of Robert III. But the turbulent chiefs of the Borders, not sufficiently checked by the supreme authority, and wanting their brutal occupution of war, plunged again into scenes of faction and sedition at home.

It was probably the result of some quarrel with the administration, though the particulars are not known, that induced the two great border heroes, the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas to enter at this time into treaties with the King of England, for giving and receiving aid; and by which they were engaged to pay him certain services during their lives. The commission issued to negociate such treaties is still extant, though it is not known how it terminated. But the fiefs of the feudal nobility had long become hereditary in Europe; so that a baron who had incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, no longer run the risk of being stript at random of his honours and possessions.

## CHAPTER VIII.

To fair Lincluden's haly cells,
Fu' dowie, I'll repair:
There peace wi' gentle patience dwells,
Nae deadly feuds are there.
With tears I'll wither every charm,
Like draps o' baleful yew,
And wail the beauty that could harm
A knicht sae brave and true.—C. K. SHARPE, ESQ.

LADY ELIZABETH DUNBAR—BETROTHED TO THE DUKE OF ROTHSAY—HER MARRIAGE NULLIFIED THROUGH THE INTRIGUES OF DOUGLAS.—DUKE OF ALBANY—ROTHSAY STARVED TO DEATH.—FAST CASTLE TAKEN.—DUNBAR BURNT.

IN 1399, the Earl of Dunbar, who now ranked among the first of the Scottish nobles, and was about to be united with the royal family by the ties of blood, was doomed to experience a cruel domestic affliction. His daughter, Elizabeth, had been betrothed to David, the young Duke of Rothsay, son and heir to the king. On the faith of the prince, who had given a bond, under seal, to perform the espousals, the Earl had advanced a considerable portion of his daughter's matrimonial settlement.

Archibald, Earl of Douglas, (surnamed the Grim,) jealous of the advantages which this marriage promised to bestow on a family, whose pre-eminence in the state already rivalled his own, protested against the alliance, which had not obtained the sanction of the parliament; and, in the meantime, by his intrigues at court, through the influence of the Duke of Albany, who entirely governed the affairs of his weak brother, he had the contract between the Duke of Rothsay and Elizabeth Dunbar cancelled, and his own daughter substituted in her place. The marriage of David with Marjory Douglas, was therefore celebrated in the church of Bothwell, in February 1400, while Elizabeth Dunbar,

the grandson of the heroic Agnes, was doomed to hide her disappointed loves in a cheerless cloister, and, like the Eloisa of Abelard,

"Warm in youth, to bid the world farewell."

Her noble parent, however, was not so easily appeased. He hastened into the presence of the king to demand reparation for his child; or, at least, that he should be reimbursed for that part of her dowry which had been advanced. These remonstrances were in vain; upon which the Earl of Dunbar withdrew from the faithless court, and entering into a revengeful correspondence with Henry IV., requested that Lord Furneval or the Earl of Westmoreland might be sent to the Marches, to confer with him on the subject. As a proof of the splendour of the baron's retinue, he further requested a safe-conduct, to endure while the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist lasted, for "one hundred knights and squires, and servants, gudes, horse and harness, as well within walled town as without;" and he goes on to say: "Excellent prince, since that I claim to be of kin to you; and it, per adventure, be nought known on your part, I shew it to your lordship by this my letter, that if dame Alice de Beaumont was your grandam, dame Marjory Comyn, her full sister, was my grandam on the other side, so that I am but of the fourth degree of kin to you, the which in old time was called near."*

Henry invited Earl George to England, and appointed the Earl of Westmoreland and the Abbot of Alnwick to treat with him in March, 1400. Leaving the castle of Dunbar in charge of his nephew, Maitland of Lethington, he repaired to England in the month of July. By an indenture drawn up by Westmoreland, the Earl obliged himself to renounce all homage, fealty, and service to "Robert, pretended king of Scotland," before the 23d August current, in consideration of which, the king, within that

* Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 449.—This letter is dated, "Castle of Dunbar, 18th February, 1400." It appears that the Latin and French languages were the court style of writing at this period, for the Earl observes:—"Marvel thee not, that I write my letters in English, for that is more clear to my understanding than Latin or French."

period, or two days after, engaged to grant by his letters patent, to Earl George, his wife, and their heirs male, the castle and lordship of Somerton in Lincolnshire, and an assignment on the customs of St Botolph, to the amount of 500 merks a-year, and also the manor of Clippeston, in the forest of Sherwood, during his life. In return for this grant, he obliged himself to perform liege homage and fealty to the English monarch; and if within fourteen days from that agreement Henry should enter Scotland, his son Gawin was to be sent as an hostage to the court of England. It was further stipulated, that, from the date of this contract, the subjects of the King of England should support his lordship in the hour of need; and, in like manner, that they should be supported by him, and be received into his castle of Dunbar or other fortresses; and, on the other hand, that the men of the Earl of Dunbar should be sent, when necessary, to supply the garrisons of the castles of the English king in Scotland, and be received and supported as loyal subjects.*

Robert, who was not ignorant of these transaction, despatched young Douglas to Dunbar; and Maitland surrendered the castle on the first summons. This second injury was irreparable. The Earl on his return, finding his principal place of strength in the hands of the son of his rival, withdrew into England with his wife, family, and followers, meditating scenes of deep revolt and retaliation.

The Scottish king, who now dreaded the intrigues of the injured baron, despatched a herald with letters of forgiveness; wherein he not only offered pardon for past offences, but redress for the wrongs he had sustained. Finding this offer spurned, he next demanded the English prince to send the rebel out of his dominions; but Henry, sensible of his lordship's importance, rejected these remonstrances, and prepared for war.†

In 1401, the Earl of Dunbar and the celebrated Hotspur entered Lothian by way of Pople, at the head of the Northumbrian yeomanry; and, advancing to the borders of the Tyne, laid siege

* Ridpath's Border Hist. † Holinshed's Chronicle.

to the castle of Hailes, which successfully sustained their attack. Burning the villages of Hailes, Traprene, and Merkhill, they encamped at (east) Linton and Preston (kirk), on the northern side of the river.* Young Douglas having mustered his warriors at Edinburgh, went in pursuit of the invaders, while they, alarmed at the approach of superior numbers, made a precipitate retreat to Cockburnspath, and left their baggage and booty behind them. The Scots pursued them to the gates of Berwick, made a great slaughter amongst the fugitives, and brought away the spear and banner of Sir Thomas Talbot as a trophy of victory.†

In 1402, Henry was so well pleased with the Earl of Dunbar's conduct in the late inroad, that he gave orders to the wardens of the English marches to admit Earl George, his men, and subjects, into the castles, fortresses, and walled towns in England; and, in the spring of this year, a pension of £400 was granted him during the continuance of the war with Scotland, on condition that he provided twelve men at arms, and twenty archers with horses, to serve against Robert. The Earl's son Gawin, was also received into the service of the English monarch, with a pension of L.40 per annum.

Shortly after, Henry invaded Scotland with a powerful army, but behaved with great clemency to the inhabitants. He seemed rather inclined to impress them with a terror of his power than to make them feel the force of his arms. While at Haddington apartments were assigned him in the Nunnery, and in return he bounteously rewarded the holy sisterhood, and caused their precincts to be respected.

Those who wept over the fate of Eilzabeth Dunbar will now listen to the silent but sure retribution of heaven. Rothsay, the young and profligate Rothsay! also fell a prey to the perfidy of his uncle. Having committed some youthful indiscretion, his father permitted the Duke of Albany to place him in confinement. This monster, accompanied by young Douglas, seized the prince when on his way to St Andrews, and, with a strong guard, drag-

* Holinshed's Chronicle. † Chalmers' Caledonia, ii.—Heron's Hist.

ged him to the tower of Falkland. He was here lodged in a small chamber, under the care of two wretches, who were bribed to report that he died of dysentery; but the opinion prevailed, that he was starved to death at the instigation of his ambitious uncle. For some time a woman found means to convey meal to the prisoner through a crevice in the floor; while another, by means of a reed, fed him with milk from her breasts; but they were both discovered and despatched. Thus destitute of all sustenance, he is said to have gnawed his own fingers, and was left in this horrible manner to perish by hunger.*

The Earl of Dunbar did not remain inactive; but, in conjunction with Lord Percy, continually harassed the Scottish borders. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who had now the direction of military affairs in that quarter, sent forth parties, under different leaders, to repel and retaliate these wasteful inroads. The first of these enterprises was conducted by Thomas Halyburton of Dirleton, who, after having ravaged the country near Bamburgh, returned laden with spoil. Patrick Hepburn, younger of Hailes, conducted the next inroad, but was not so fortunate; for, having penetrated farther into England, and acquired great booty, he was suddenly attacked at West Nisbet, in Berwickshire, by the Earl of Dunbar, who lay in wait with a body of Northumbrians. Victory was awhile doubtful; but George Dunbar, coming to his father's assistance with a troop of thirty horses, determined it in favour of the latter. Hepburn and some of his followers were slain; while John and Thomas Halyburton, John and William Cockburn, and Robert Lauder of the Bass, with many others, were taken prisoners.

Douglas, who now held the castles of Dunbar and Edinburgh, and had the military force of the Borders at his command, was not slow to avenge this disaster. About the middle of August, he invaded England with an army of ten or twelve thousand men, and penetrated to Newcastle. Apprised of this movement, the

* Holinshed's Chronicle.

Earls of Dunbar and Northumberland, with Hotspur and other barons and knights, assembled their forces, and met Douglas about a mile from Wooler, posted on the hill of Halidon. With difficulty the Earl of Dunbar prevented the impetuous Hotspur from rushing, at the head of his spearmen, on the enemy. Agreeably to the counsel of the circumspect Earl, the English archers with their longbows began to gall the Scots at a distance, while the latter, whose bows were short, and within the range of the enemy, were annoyed with terrible effect. The Scottish chief, Sir John Swinton, unable longer to bear this passive slaughter, called upon his fellow soldiers to follow him down the declivity against the enemy. At that moment, Adam Gordon of Gordon, hitherto the mortal foe of Swinton, kneeling before his adversary, entreated forgiveness, and, with sympathetic enthusiasm, requested the honour of knighthood from his hands. After this extraordinary reconciliation, the two knights, with an hundred men, closed in combat with the English, but were speedily destroyed, and the Scots completely routed. The fugitives were pursued to the Tweed, and many ignorant of the fords were drowned; while Douglas, who had lost an eye, was taken prisoner.*

The Earl of Dunbar and Lord Percy, wishing to follow up their successes, immediately assaulted the castle of Cocklaw in Teviotdale; but the gallant garrison effectually resisted their attempts, and obtained a truce of fifty days.†

After the battle of Halidon, in 1403, Henry addressed congratulary letters to the Earl of Dunbar, the Percies, and others; and particularly insisted that they should not ransom or dismiss any of their prisoners without his express permission. This prohibition provoked a resentment which had been gathering betwixt the Percies and their sovereign, that now broke out into open rebellion, under the pretence of advancing Mortimer, the English Earl of March, to the throne; while the Earl of Douglas, on condition of obtaining his liberty and the town of Berwick, joined the rebel corps.

* Ridpath's Border Hist.—Heron's Scot. † Holinshed.

Chagrined at seeing the sons of his rivals, Douglas and Albany so soon released, the Earl of Dunbar forsook the rebellious chiefs, and fled to the court of Henry. He was next engaged at the battle of Shrewsbury, where Hotspur was slain, and the unfortunate Douglas again taken prisoner. As these successes of the king were, in a great measure, attributed to the Earl of Dunbar and his son, Henry bestowed on them ample rewards.*

Earl George now supplicated the English parliament to restore him his estates in the event of their being conquered; but though the army penetrated to Innerwick, in East Lothian, they made little progress in subduing the earldom of March and Dunbar.†

The Earl of Dunbar, who had materially assisted in quashing the rebellion of the Percies at Shrewsbury, now incurred the vengeance of the followers of that powerful family. In a letter from the Countess of Dunbar to Henry IV. she laments the misfortunes her family had endured since they left Scotland; and although surrounded by the pestilence, they were afraid to retire to the castle of Colbrandspath on account of the Northumbrians.‡

In 1405, while Lord George Dunbar held the castle of Colbrandspath as lieutenant, Christal, a shipmaster, and seven marines, when employed in providing victuals for the garrison, were attacked by two officers with an armed force, from the garrison of Berwick, who seized their ships, cargoes, and men, and carried them thither.§ An order from the king, (dated Pomfret

* Ridpath's Border Hist.—Holinshed. † Chalmers' Cal. vol. ii.

‡ This letter was written in French. After a prefatory address of the most fulsome adulation, the Countess states the distress she and her Lord Baron lay under from the debt they had incurred since they were expelled from their country; that the plague was so prevalent and mortal, that she looked upon nothing but for death in its most fearful shapes; that by no treaty could they gain liberty from their enemies to retire to Colbrandespath till the mortality ceased; that, since the death of Sir Henry Percy, they were much annoyed by the malice shewn to them by his followers, while the retainers of the Earl of Douglas equally harassed them on the other side, by making prisoners of their people; and she concludes by requesting Henry might order such remedy as the bearer would suggest by word of mouth.—Pinkerton's Scot. vol. i. p. 450.

§ Ridpath's Border Hist.

Castle, August 22nd,) commands John Topcliff, sergeant-at-arms, to compel the offenders to make restitution for the injury they had committed.*

In 1407, the Earl of Dunbar had a dispute with the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln about tithes. This occasioned the murder of John Bleswell at Nanneby, by a party of men; for which his lordship obtained a pardon from Henry, dated May 10th.

But Earl George began once more to sigh for the "shade of the elm, and the sound of the reed," in his native land. Through the mediation of Walter Halyburton of Dirleton, who was married to the governor's daughter, a reconciliation was effected in 1409; yet Douglas would not consent to his lordship's restoration, till he had obtained the castle of Lochmaben and the lordship of Annandale, in lieu of the castle of Dunbar and earldom of March, which he then possessed. Albany, accordingly, granted a charter of Lochmaben and Annandale to Douglas and his heirs male; which failing, the estates were to revert to George and his successors. The Earl returned to Scotland, and, on the 8th June, witnessed a charter of Halyburton's at Dirleton.

Hostilities continuing, in 1410, Patrick, second son of the Earl of Dunbar, with a hundred brave followers, took Fast Castle, and captured Thomas Holden, the governor, who had long infested the country by his pillaging excursions. Shortly after this affair, Gawin Dunbar, in conjunction with William Douglas of Drumlanrig, levelled the bridge of Roxburgh, and plundered and burnt the town.*

In 1411, the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas, and seven others, were appointed to meet the English commissioners at Haudenstank, to negociate a truce; and, in 1414, we find the son of the former, Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beil, among the commissioners who concluded a further treaty of peace, in which France was included; and in an armistice with the latter country in the following year, the Earl of Dunbar, with the Lords of Man and of the Isles, are comprehended as the allies of that power.

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. ii.—Holinshed's Chron. vol. ii.

In 1417, the Scots, under the Duke of Albany, having defeated a body of the English in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh, the governor pursued his success; but as an immense army was approaching, the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas prevailed on him to retreat; and the English did not think it prudent to follow.

At this period, Sir Robert Umfranville, governor of Berwick, made great devastations on the eastern marches, and burnt the market-town of Dunbar, and other places on the Borders; but "the aged hero comes forth on his staff, and his grey hairs glitter in the beam,"—a contagious fever closed the chequered life of George, Earl of Dunbar, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

By Christian, daughter of Sir William Seton of Seton, he had six sons and two daughters, as follows: George eleventh Earl of Dunbar and March; Gawin, Colin, Patrick Dunbar of Beil,* John, Sir David Dunbar of Cockburn;† also Lady Elizabeth, who was betrothed to the Duke of Rothsay; and Lady Janet, married first to John, Lord Seton, and next to Sir Adam Johnston of Johnston.

* Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beil was taken prisoner at the battle of Halidon. He was a hostage for James I. in England, (26th July 1426,) when a safe-conduct was granted to his wife and four servants to repair thither. He was ambassador with his brother, George, to England, in 1429. Two charters of George de Dunbar, Earl of March, to Patrick Dunbar of Beil, knight, of several lands in Berwickshire, were confirmed, 24th April 1452, by James II. His son, Hugh Dunbar, sold the lands of Beil, in East Lothian, and the Mill of Mersington, in Berwickshire, to Robert Lauder of Edrington, 13th September, 1489.—Douglas' Peerage, vol. ii.

† Sir David Dunbar of Cockburn was the first who came to the assistance of James I. when attacked by his assassins in 1437. A charter was granted 7th February 1425-6, ratifying the donation, which the deceased George Dunbar, Earl of March, and George Dunbar, now Earl of March, made to David Dunbar, son of the said deceased George, of the lands of Cockburn and Brighame. His only daughter, Mariota, married Alexander, second Earl of Crawford.—Douglas' Peerage, vol. ii.

## CHAPTER IX.

'Tis no land of thine,
Thy place is fill'd, thy sceptre wrung from thee,
Thy balm washt off wherewith thou wast anointed;
No bending knee will call thee Cæsar now,
No humble suitors press to speak for right:
No, not a man comes for redress to thee.
KING HENRY VI.

### THE LAST OF THE EARLS—CREATED EARL OF BUCHAN.—ASSASSINATION OF JAMES I.

GEORGE, eleventh earl of Dunbar and March,* succeeded his father about the mature age of fifty. He was lieutenant of the castle of Cockburnspath, as already noticed, in 1405, and was engaged in various public transactions during the last years of his father's life. In 1390, he obtained from Robert II. a grant of his ward-relief and marriage for the earldom of March and lordship of Annandale; and he acted as a commissioner for liberating Murdac, son of the regent Albany, in 1411 and 1415.†

In 1427, the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas obtained a truce from Henry in London for two years, which Umfranville had refused.

The Scots, on the death of Robert, Duke of Albany, began to turn their wishes to their captive prince, who was still retained in England; upon which, the Earl of Dunbar and his brother accompanied the embassy sent to negotiate the liberation of the king. As the regent of Scotland earnestly seconded this object, it was soon concluded; and James I., on the stipulation of L.40,000, was restored to the throne of his ancestors.‡

* He was designed Earl of March and Dunbar, Lord Annandale and Man; as in his charter, penes Comitem de Mortoun, to the abbacy of Melrose.—Nisbet's Heraldry.

† Douglas' Peer. ii.—Chal. Cal. ii. ‡ Hume's Eng.

In 1424, Earl George was one of the conservators of the seven-year's truce, and had the honour to meet the king and his young consort at Durham on their return to Scotland.* He was also present at the coronation at Scone, on the 21st May; and, with several eminent nobles, was knighted on that joyous occasion.†

But clouds were gathering over the family of Dunbar which were never to be dispelled. In 1425, the Earls of Dunbar and Douglas, with the Duke of Albany and twenty other barons, were suddenly arrested and placed in confinement. The cause of this decisive measure is thus explicitly stated :—

During James's captivity in England, the rapacity of the Governor's family and other nobles, who had shared the spoils of the crown, had nearly alienated the royal domains; and when the noisy acclamations that welcomed the prince's return home began to subside, he found himself on the throne of an impoverished nation. It was in vain that taxes were levied to defray the national expenditure, while the resources of the country were locked up and monopolized by a corrupt administration. Matters having therefore reached this necessitous crisis, a parliament, assembled at Perth, adopted this bold and effective measure. Albany and his sons, with his father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, were consigned to the axe of the executioner, while the Earl of Dunbar, and most of the other barons, whose guilt was less apparent, were set at liberty.‡

The royal confidence being restored, the Earl of Dunbar was employed in negotiating temporary truces with England; and officiated as sponsor for James II. at Holyroodhouse, October 1430.§

In 1435, the Earl of Dunbar and his son Patrick visited England; and on the 25th January ensuing, they had a safe-conduct granted them, to continue in force for a year. The

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. † Chal. Cal. ii.
‡ Holinshed's Chron.—Heron's Scot. § Chal. Cal. ii.

motive of this visit to the English court is not known; but it was highly imprudent. The slumbering jealousies of James, who had already struck a blow at the power of the barons, were easily awakened; and he at length formed the bold plan of seizing the estates and fortresses of a family which for ages had been the most powerful and most opulent on the Scottish borders. The Earl of Dunbar was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, while the Earl of Angus, Chancellor Chrichton, and Adam Hepburn of Hailes, were despatched with letters to the keeper of the castle of Dunbar, who immediately surrendered it to the king's authority, and Hepburn was left constable of this important fortress.

In a parliament assembled at Perth, on the 10th January 1434-5, George was accused, not for any treason committed by himself, but for holding his earldom and estates, which had been forfeited by his father's tergiversation. "In vain did he plead," says Robert Douglas, "that his father had been pardoned and restored by Albany;" it was answered, "that a forfeiture incurred for treason could not be pardoned by a regent;" and the parliament, in compliance with this reasoning, having heard Sir George Dunbar, knight, on his part, adjudged, "that, in consequence of the attainder of George de Dunbar, formerly Earl of March and Lord of Dunbar, every right both of property and possession in all and each of those estates in the earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar, and all other lands which he held of our said lord the King, with all and each of their appurtenances, did and does exclusively belong and appertain to our lord the King." Thus it was found that the earldom and estates of the Earl of Dunbar were now vested in the crown.

These harsh proceedings may safely be attributed to an envious ministry. James could not soon forget the interest the Earl of Dunbar had taken in his liberation; and according to Fordun, he created him Earl of Buchan, as some atonement for this cruel decision; or, as it was otherwise said, he had an assignment on the earldom of Buchan, which being found inadequate, on the

death of James, 400 merks yearly were granted out of his ancient inheritance till James II. came to the crown.

There was little policy in thus removing this illustrious nobleman from the borders. He was certainly a severe check on the the Douglasses, who seem to have contributed to his overthrow, and whose family soon proved an ungovernable burden to the crown.

After this reverse, the earl and his son retired with their families to England, to hide their former splendour in obscurity. By a charter granted in 1457, it appears that Patrick Dunbar, son of George, Earl of March, possessed the lands and barony of Kilconquhar, in Fife, which being held under the bishop of St Andrews, were not involved in the forfeiture to the king.

The Earl of Dunbar is supposed to have been twice married. By his first wife, Beatrix, he had a son, the before-mentioned Patrick; and, in 1421, he obtained a dispensation for his espousals with Halysie, daughter of the late William de Haya, knight, Lord of Vhestyr, permitting him to marry, notwithstanding they were related in the fourth degree of consanguinity, and Beatrix, his first wife, was in the second degree of consanguinity to this lady. But whether this last marriage took place is uncertain, as Alicia, daughter of Sir William Hay of Yester, married Sir Gilbert Hay of Errol.

James I. was destined to fall the victim of those nobles who had planned the destruction of this potent family. On the night of the 21st February, Stewart and Graham, with seven of their accomplices, forced their way into the king's apartment in his favourite Carthusian monastery at Perth. Having slain Straiton, the only domestic in waiting, they burst into James's chamber, while he sat at supper, and assassinated him before the queen. Her majesty, who had vainly interposed herself to the murderers' daggers, was wounded in the scuffle. Sir David Dunbar (brother to the earl), on receiving intelligence, hastened from the town, and in his attempt to rescue the king, and in-

tercept the retreat of the assassins, he was severely wounded in the arm, and left for dead on the floor.

The last exploit we have to record of this now subdued family happened in 1446; when Jane Seymour, the queen-mother, flying during the tumult raised by the barons to Dunbar Castle, now held by Sir Patrick Hepburn, Archibald Dunbar took the castle of Hailes, and put the garrison to the sword.*

Patrick Dunbar, son and heir of the last Earl of Dunbar, possessed the barony of Kilconquhar in Fife. His charter runs thus:—"Patricii Dunbar, filii et herede Georgii Comitis de March, terrarum baroniæ de Kilconquhar, circa annum 1457." These lands were enjoyed by his posterity for several generations, till the last of them dying in the reign of Queen Mary, left their memory but a name, and their grandeur but a dream.

* Lindsay's Chron.

## CHAPTER X.

Ah me! I see the ruin of my house;
The tiger now hath seized the gentle hind.
Insulting tyranny begins to jut
Upon the innocent and awless throne.
RICHARD III.

THE DUKE OF ALBANY.—EARL OF MAR BLED TO DEATH.—ALBANY ESCAPES TO DUNBAR.—DUNBAR BESIEGED.—SEA FIGHT.—BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

FOR some time, the estates of Dunbar and March, now vested in the crown, were held by the Homes and Hepburns conjunctly, as stewards. In 1448, the Earl of Northumberland invaded the eastern borders, and burnt and ravaged Dunbar.* On the death of the queen-mother, Hepburn delivered up the castle to the king.†

The lordship of Dunbar was bestowed by James II. on his second son, Alexander, Duke of Albany, in his infancy. After the marriage of James III. in 1471, the duke, his brother, is introduced to us, by the Chronicler of Pitscottie, "as one well-proportioned in all his members; yet he was broad-faced, red-nosed, great-eared, and of very awful countenance, when he pleased to shew himself to his unfriends." This amiable personage was also "very wise and manly," and loved nothing so well as able men and good horses; "and was held in such estimation by the lords and barons of Scotland, that they durst never rebel against the king, so long as *he* rang in peace with his brother." To his grace was awarded the castle of Dunbar, with the living pertaining thereto; he was also appointed captain of Berwick, and lieutenant of the eastern borders.

Albany, as a natural consequence, soon incurred the displea-

* Lindsay of Pitscottie. † Holinshed.

sure of Lord Home, who had enjoyed the chamberlainship of Dunbar and March during the reign of James II. The duke, heedless of the pretensions of his lordship, drew the profits and duties of these lands himself, which exasperated Home so much that he joined in league with the Hepburns; but as Albany resided in the castle of Dunbar, and had the men of the eastern marches at his command, the border chieftains were unsuccessful in their opposition. Finding their combined forces could not thwart the duke, they devised means to ruin him in the opinion of the king. One Cochran, an architect, had at this time gained a wonderful ascendency over the mind of James. To this favourite the injured party addressed themselves; and as the duke was no less odious to this upstart than to the barons of the Merse, he soon found means to poison the mind of his majesty against his brother. The powers of darkness were conjured up to aid in this work of iniquity, and a witch being ushered into the royal presence, predicted that "the king should be suddenly slain by one of the nearest of his kin!" * James's suspicions were now excited. The Earl of Mar was arrested, and committed to Craig Millar Castle, where after being accused of practising sorcery against the king's life, he was brought to Edinburgh, and bled to death; while Albany, who was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, by a dangerous stratagem, and with great difficulty, effected his escape to the castle of Dunbar;† from

* More than once a reconciliation was patched up between them; and on one of these occasions, James III. having mounted a hackney to ride from the castle to Holyrood Abbey, refused to move on till his brother had mounted behind him, when they rode on the same horse down the High Street of the metropolis, an edifying spectacle of fraternal concord, which, however, did not long remain unbroken.—Provincial Ant. ii.

† A coil of ropes was conveyed to the duke in a cask of wine, and a letter, warning him to effect his escape, inclosed within a cake of wax. Having plied the captain, whom he had engaged in a game at dice, and his attendants with wine, he suddenly slew him, and the rest shared the same fate. The keys, which were at the officer's belt, supplied the duke with the means of escaping to the battlements, while the sheets on his bed supplied the means of lengthening the rope, with which he descended without injury, and reached the sea-coast, where a skiff was ready to receive him.

whence he proceeded to France, where he married the Duchess of Bouillon, and remained there till 1482.

Meanwhile, the king being informed of the duke's escape, sent Lord Evandale, then chancellor, to besiege Dunbar. In a short but warm contest, three knights were slain. The lords of Luss and Craigiewallace, and Sir William Shaw of Sauchie, fell by the shot of the same gun, while John Ramsay was killed by a stone thrown from the battlements. The garrison finding it impracticable to resist the royal authority, made their escape by sea, bearing the principal articles with them.* Amongst these were Home of Polwarth, Andrew Jackson, David Chirnside, and others, who by their names seem to have belonged to the Merse or East Lothian, and who were declared forfeited by parliament in 1480. This is supposed to be the first time artillery was used against the castle of Dunbar.

In 1482, Albany left France for England, and entering into a a league with the English monarch, he proceeded to Scotland, and took possession of Berwick. A peace was now concluded between the sister kingdoms, when he was once more restored to his Scottish possessions. This was however of short duration. Under pretence that an attempt had been made to take away his life by poison, he again fled to the castle of Dunbar. On this occasion, the Earls of Angus, Buchan, and others, followed the fortunes of the duke, when the king alarmed, shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh, and raised an army to lay siege to Dunbar. Albany, terrified into submission, delivered up the castle to the English, and sheltered himself under the protection of Edward, till again departing to France, he was slain in a tilting match by the Duke of Orleans.

In 1484, the castle was in the hands of the English. Some partial successes of James induced Richard, who was harassed by his rebellious subjects at home, to negotiate a peace; but as Berwick was in possession of the enemy, Dunbar, which was of material benefit to the Scots, as the key of the eastern marches,

* Holinshed's Chron.

furnished an insurmountable obstacle to any peaceable arrangement. It was therefore found necessary, on the plenipotentiaries meeting in Nottingham in September, that the castle of Dunbar should form a separate article in the treaty, viz.:—

"The castle of Dunbar, with the bounds belonging to it, was to enjoy an undisturbed exemption from war for the certain term of six months, after the commencement of the general truce;—and this truce with the castle was to continue during the remainder of the three years' truce, if the king of Scotland did not notify to the king of England, six weeks after its commencement, that it was not his wish that it should be comprehended longer than six months. Certifying, that should hostilities commence after that period, they should be wholly confined to the attack and defence of that fortress, and should in no other respect infringe the peace concluded between the kingdoms." *

It is with no surprise, therefore, that we behold the Scottish parliament, in February 1485, advise the king to besiege the castle of Dunbar. By the first of May, all the men on the south side of the Forth, capable of bearing arms, were summoned to repair to Dunbar, properly accoutred, and furnished with provisions for twenty days; while by the 18th of the same month, those on the north of the same river were to relieve their countrymen, and to share in the labour and glory of the enterprise.† Notwithstanding this parade, nothing hostile was attempted during the life of Richard III., who continued to amuse James with fair promises, in reply to repeated solicitations for the restoration of this important fortress. But when "the weight of Richard's guilt had crushed him on the bloody field of Bosworth," James, taking advantage of the commotion which placed Henry, Earl of Richmond, on the throne, laid siege to Dunbar in winter, and compelled the garrison to surrender. This, however, did not break the truce, as at this period both monarchs had strong reasons to cultivate a good understanding with each other.

The mutual hatred betwixt James and his nobles increasing,

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. † Ibid.

at length broke out into open rebellion. He then resolved to annex unalienably to the crown the lands forfeited by the Duke of Albany; and this was accomplished by act of parliament, on the 1st October 1487. These lands were the lordship and earldom of March, the baronies of Dunbar and Colbrandspath, with the castle of Dunbar, and tower and fortalice of Colbrandspath, and the lordship of Annandale, with the castle of Lochmaben.* These dependencies, particularly the castles of Dunbar and Lochmaben, and the tower and fortress of Cockburnspath, were vested in the king; but any gift of them made by him or his successors, without the consent of parliament, was to be considered revocable. The representatives of the burghs alone appear to have sanctioned this arrangement. Indeed, a project which threatened the introduction of severer measures than those to which the border chiefs had been accustomed, could not fail to excite alarm and furious resentment; and immediately the southern counties, instigated by the Homes and the Hepburns, were once more in array against the king.

The rebels, to give a colour to their proceedings, placed the Duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of James, at their head; and their first object was to retake the castle of Dunbar. This was speedily effected. They pursued the king to Stirling; a party under the Lords Angus and Home decided the event; the royalists were routed, and their monarch slain.

Dunbar Castle was now in possession of the rebellious lords. In 1490, the English, taking advantage of these civil commotions, entered the Frith of Forth with five vessels, and did considerable damage to the mercantile shipping. James, irritated by this indignity, could not prevail upon any masters of vessels to proceed against the enemy, till they applied to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, whom they incited to the enterprise by large supplies of men and artillery, and with promises of royal favour and reward. Wood proceeded with his two ships, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, against the English, who also were well

* Douglas' Peer. ii.

furnished with artillery, and overtaking them opposite Dunbar Castle, a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Scottish admiral's courage and naval skill secured the victory. The five English ships were taken and brought to Leith; and Wood was amply rewarded by his sovereign and the applause of his country. This incident shews us the insignificance, rather than the want of bravery, of the Scottish navy at this period, when Wood had to be bribed into the service.

Henry VII., displeased at the disgrace inflicted on his flag by a nation unknown in the annals of the sea, offered an yearly sum to any commander who should capture Wood. Stephen Bull, an English officer, engaged to take the Scottish hero dead or alive, and with three ships, strongly garnished for war, proceeded to the Forth. He anchored behind the Isle of May, and waited the return of Wood, who had been escorting some vessels to Flanders. On the morning of the 10th August, he descried two vessels under sail near St Abb's Head, which proved to be those of the Scottish admiral. Bull distributed wine amongst his men to inspire their courage, while Wood, regardless of superior numbers, prepared for the attack. "These, my lads," he exclaimed, "are the foes who expect to convey us in bonds to the English king; but, by your courage, and the help of God, they shall fail. Charge, gunners: let the cross-bows be ready; have the lime-pots and fire-balls to the tops; two-handed swords to the forerooms. Be stout, be diligent, for your own sakes, and for the honour of the realm." Wine was then dealt out, and the ships resounded with acclamations. The sun rising above the horison, shone full upon the English vessels, and displayed their magnitude to the Scots. Wood, by a skilful manœuvre, attained the windward of the enemy, and engaging in close combat, the battle raged undecided till the shades of night parted the combatants. Next day at dawn, the trumpets sounded to arms, when the conflict was renewed with such obstinacy, that the neglected vessels were allowed to drive before an ebb-tide and south wind, till they were opposite the

Tay. At length the valour of the Scots prevailed, and the three English ships were captured.

When the intestine commotions which raged on the accession of James IV. began to subside, intervals of peace gleamed upon the borders, and truces were made and violated, like "sunny brightnesses breaking through" the pauses of the storm.

On the marriage of the Princess Margaret of England with the King of Scotland in 1503, the earldom of Dunbar and lordship of Cockburnspath, with their dependencies, lying in the constabulary of Haddington, were assigned as the jointure of the young queen; and Robert Sherburn, dean of St Paul's, her majesty's attorney, obtained seisin for the same from the sheriff of Edinburgh. "26th May 1503, James Logan, the sheriff of Edinburgh, went 'ad crucem fori,' to the market-cross of Dunbar; and there personally gave seisin and possession corporal, of the earldom of Dunbar, and lordship of Cowburnspecht, to the queen's attorney, in the presence of the bailies of Dunbar, and other respectable witnesses;" * but in this article the castle of Dunbar, and its custody, is expressly mentioned as being reserved by the king to himself.

Nothing further occurs in the history of Dunbar till after the fatal field of Flodden, where James perished with the flower of his nobility. The crown now devolved to his son, a boy about two years old. On this event, the family of Albany was again an intimate of the castle. John, Duke of Albany (son of the expatriated duke), who had been born and bred in France, was invited to accept of the regency; and as he soon found it necessary to employ foreign auxiliaries against the turbulent chiefs of the borders, in 1515, Dunbar saw its fortress garrisoned with French soldiers.†

By some means the chamberlain's mother was detained a prisoner in the castle, upon which Lord Home, who was at enmity with the governor, penetrated into Lothian, plundered Dunbar, and seizing on the Lyon Herald at Coldstream, took him into

* Chalmers' Cal. ii. † Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

custody till the lady should be released. This triumph was of short duration; for shortly after, Home and his brother William were arrested by the artifices of Albany, and led to the block.

After the execution of Lord Home, in 1517, Albany created Sir Anthony D'Arcy (styled le sieur de la Beaute), a Frenchman, warden of the east marches and captain of Dunbar. While the duke was absent on a visit to the King of France, this gentleman held the delegated reins of government; and as might have been anticipated, the substitution of a foreigner in the place of Home, by the person who had brought his lordship to the scaffold, drew down the vengeance of his kindred on his devoted head.

William Cockburn, uncle to the laird of Langton, purposely ejected from the castle of Langton the tutors of his nephew, who was then in his minority, and held the place by force, in contempt of the regent's authority. D'Arcy, depending on the aid of Sir David Home of Wedderburn, who had commenced a mock seige of the place, repaired with a few neighbouring gentlemen and domestics to the spot. Home immediately reviled D'Arcy and his master for the death of his kinsman, when a rencounter took place, and the Frenchman seeking for safety by flight, directed his course to Dunbar. His horse unfortunately sunk in a morass, a little east from Dunse; and the pursuers coming up, one of them struck off D'Arcy's head, which, fixing on a spear, they exhibited in that town; and then carried it in triumph to grin with ghastly horror on the battlements of Home Castle. Inspired with the ferocious spirit of the age, David Home cut off D'Arcy's long flowing locks, which were gracefully plaited like womens' hair, and knitting them as a trophy, hung them on his saddle-bow.*

* Hector's fate was somewhat similar, when he was dragged at the chariot of Achilles:—

> "The nervous ancles bored, his feet he bound
> With thong inserted through the double wound;
> These fixed up high behind the rolling wain,
> His graceful head was trail'd along the plain.
> Proud on his car the insulting victor stood,
> And bore aloft his arms, distilling blood.

After the murder of D'Arcy, Morrice, another Frenchman, was sent in 1518, with a reinforcement of soldiers from France, to take charge of the castle.

Robert Stuart D'Aubigny and the Seigneur des Planes landed at Dunbar on the 27th November, 1520, with overtures of peace to the King of England, as the truce with Scotland was nearly expired; and, in 1521, the Duke of Albany returned from France to Dunbar, after an absence of four years and five months, with a powerful escort of French guards and artillery.*

Henry VIII., jealous of the influence which the governor possessed over the young prince, his nephew, and the queen-mother, was much displeased at his return; and even sent a herald to the states of Scotland, requesting that they should depose Albany from the charge of the king and government, and banish him from the kingdom. Incensed at this presumption, the duke invaded England; but speedily disbanding his forces, he returned once more to France in quest of aid. In the middle of September 1523, he arrived on the coast of Arran, with a fleet of fifty ships, containing 3000 foot and 100 gens-d'armes. After an unsuccessful siege of the castle of Wark, he returned to Dunbar, where he probably remained till December, when he bade a final adieu to Scotland, after an inefficient regency of eight years.

On his last visit to Dunbar, the governor built a great storehouse and inch to the castle, called the outward blockhouse, and fortified it with artillery.†

The French continued to hold the castle of Dunbar for the regent, even after his return from their country was despaired of. In December 1527, when James V. laid siege to Tantallon, then

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He smites the steeds; the rapid chariot flies;
The sudden clouds of circling dust arise,
Now lost is all that formidable air,
That face divine, and long descending hair,
Purple the ground, and streak the sable sand,
Given to the rage of an insulting throng."

Pope's Homer's Iliad, book xxii.

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. † Lindsay's Chron.

the stronghold of Douglas, he "gart send to the castle of Dunbar," says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "to Captain Morrice, to borrow some artillery, and laid great pledges for the same; because the castle was then in the Duke of Albany's hand, and the artillery thereof his own; but it was ever at the king's pleasure when he had ought ado, and that by the command of the said Duke of Albany. But yet, for restoring and delivering of the same, and observing of a good order, caused three lords to pass in pledge for the said artillery, till it was delivered again, and received the same, in manner as after follows: that is to say, two great canons, throw-mouthed Mow and her Marrow, with two great botcards and two moyans, two double falcons, and four quarter falcons, with their powder and bullets, and gunners for to use them, conform to the king's pleasure." * After the siege of Tantallon, Argyle came to Dunbar in pursuit of Douglas, and advanced to the Pease.

In 1528, James sent to Flanders for more artillery and ammunition to supply Dunbar, Stirling, &c.

The castle continued to be occupied by the French during the reign of James V.; and when this unhappy monarch, wounded by the perfidy of his nobles, had abandoned himself to melancholy, it is said that his distresses were increased by the intelligence that one Leech, a Lincolnshire refugee, had murdered Somerset, an English herald, at Dunbar.†

* Lindsay's Chron. † Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

## CHAPTER XI.

Born all too high—by wedlock raised
Still higher—to be cast thus low!
Would that mine eyes had never gazed
On aught of more ambition's show
Than the sweet flowerets of the fields!
It is my royal state that yields
This bitterness of woe.
Unblest distinction! shower'd on me,
To bind a lingering life in chains;
All that could quit my grasp, or flee,
Is gone; but not the subtle stains
Fixed in the spirit.

WORDSWORTH'S LAMENT FOR QUEEN MARY.

QUEEN MARY.—DUNBAR BURNT.—INVASION OF SCOTLAND.—SIEGE OF HADDINGTON.—SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENGLISH.—GOVERNOR OF HADDINGTON TAKEN.—FLIGHT OF QUEEN MARY TO DUNBAR.—DUNBAR CASTLE DESTROYED.

THE same picture, it has been observed, with deeper shadows, is about to be exhibited, that disgraced the former minorities. James V. was succeeded by his daughter Mary, an infant scarcely a month old.

Haddington was anciently a royal residence, and in its palace Alexander II. was born. From this distinguished burgh a nurse was selected for Mary Queen of Scots, in the person of Mrs Janet Kemp. This important office was bestowed by the queen-mother on Janet Sinclair, the wife of John Kemp of Haddington, Janet having previously proved herself a good nurse, by attending on the deceased Prince James, Mary's eldest brother, in the same vocation. Both Janet and her husband were recipients of crown grants, and other testimonials of the queen-mother's grateful sense of her services to the nurseling of royalty. Mary, though reported to be sickly, and unlikely to survive, was a fair and goodly babe, and did ample credit to Mistress Janet's

fostering care. She was nursed, however, under the eye of the queen-mother, and in her own chamber—the most salubrious and the safest on the suite of apartments facing the beautiful lake of Linlithgow.*

The ambition of the great, which the Kings of France and England endeavoured to keep at variance, employed every means to strengthen their party, while the difference of religious opinions that now prevailed, afforded a favourable opportunity for their accomplishment. James had left the office of regent open to every pretender, and Cardinal Beaton was the first that claimed that high dignity; but the church party were discomfitted, and on the 22nd December, the Earl of Arran, on being proclaimed sole tutor to the queen, and governor of the kingdom, assumed the rights of the castle of Dunbar.

The English, in the inroad under the Earl of Hertford in 1544, after their return from the siege of Leith, and after burning Haddington, encamped the second night near Dunbar (26th May), and on the morning set fire to the town, when "men, women, and children were suffocated and burnt." †

During another inroad, they took and fortified the abbey of Coldingham, and ravaged the neighhourhood. The governor

* Privy Seal Register, quoted by Miss Strickland.

† The same day we burnt a fine town of the Earl Bothwell's, called Haddington, with a great nunnery and house of friars. The next night after, we encamped besides Dunbar; and there the Scots gave a small alarm to our camp. But our watches were in such readiness, that they had no vantage there, but were fain to recoil without doing of any harm. That night they looked for us to have burnt the town of Dunbar, which we deferred till the morning at the dislodging of our camp, which we executed by V.C. of our hakbutters, being backed by V.C. horsemen. And by reason we took them in the morning, who having watched all night for our coming, and perceiving our army to dislodge and depart, thought themselves safe of us, were newly gone to their beds; and in their first sleep closed in with fire, men, women, and children, were suffocated and burnt. That morning being very misty and foggy, we had perfect knowledge by our espials that the Scots had assembled a great power at a strait called the Pease.—Expedicion under the Erle of Hertforde.

The other piles and villages desolated by these cold-blooded savages, were Preston and the castle of Seton, Tranent, Shenstone (probably Stevenston), Markle, Traprene, Kirklandhill, Hetherwick, Belton, East Barns, &c.

who went in pursuit of the invaders met with such a gallant resistence, that, alarmed at the approach of the main army, he secretly departed to Dunbar. The bravery of Angus, however, saved the artillery. With a band of his dependents he marched in rear of the ordnance, and in despite of the English horsemen, brought it safe to the castle.

In 1547, when Lord Borthwick was appointed keeper of Hailes Castle (during the outlawry of Bothwell), he was commanded, in the event of being attacked by the English, to apply to the captain of Dunbar for assistance in the Lord Governor's absence.

The same year, the Duke of Somerset invaded Scotland with an army of 14,000 men. Beacons were placed on the hills near the coast. Robert Hamilton, captain of Dunbar, was charged with that on the Domilaw above Spot; the prioress of North Berwick with that on North Berwick Law; and the Earl of Bothwell with Dumpender Law. And it was ordained that all fencible men, between sixteen and sixty, should appear at the market-crosses of Dunbar, North Berwick, Haddington, &c., "weil boddin in feir of weir." * The duke's army having crossed the pass of Pease (with "puffying and payne," as Patten says), demolished the castles of Dunglass, Innerwick, and Thornton.† On passing Dunbar, the castle fired several shots, but the army had not time to spare from their main enterprise for the reduction of such a strong fortress.

* Keith's Hist. 52.

† This done, about noon, we marched on, passing soon after within the gunshot of Dunbar, a town standing longwise upon the sea-side, whereat is a castle (which the Scots count very strong), that sent us divers shots as we passed, but all in vain: their horsemen shewed themselves in their fields beside us, towards whom Bartevile with his viii. men, all hakbutters on horseback (whom he had right well appointed), with divers others, did make; but no hurt on either side, saving that a man of Bartevile's slew one of them with his piece; the skirmish was soon ended. We went a iiii. mile farther, and having travelled that day a x. mile, we camped nigh Tantallon, and had at night a blind alarm. Here had we first advertisement certain that the Scots were assembled in camp at the place where we found them. Marching this morning a ii. mile, we came to a fair river

On his way to England, after the defeat at Pinkey* in 1548, the German mercenaries under the Earl of Shrewsbury (of whom he had 3000 in his army), burnt the town of Dunbar.

Haddington, fortified and garrisoned by the English, at this time presented the novel features of a conquered city, and served as a diversion in favour of England, on their invading inroads on the borders and of Dunbar. The Scots, burning with the mingled emotions of regret and revenge, saw the abodes of piety, and learning, and regal power, in the hands of the invaders. They were glad, therefore, to accept of succour from France, even at the expense of their youthful queen; and as such an important political alliance as was now held out to Henry could not be resisted, the requisition of the queen-mother and the regent was instantly granted. Andrew Montlamberi, and Monsieur d'Esse, an experienced French officer, was selected for this important expedition, and appointed lieutenant-general of the army of Scotland, and with 6000 veteran auxiliaries, landed at Leith, June 16th, 1548. M. de Andelot commanded the foot, De Etauges the horse, Count Rimgrave (Rhinegrave) the Germans, the famous Leo Strozzi the Italians, and Dunoon the artillery. Their arrival cheered the drooping spirits of the

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called Lyn (Tyne), running all straight eastward toward the sea; over this river there is a stone bridge, that they name Linton Bridge, of a town thereby on our right hand, and eastward as we went, that stands upon the same river. Our horsemen and carriages passed through the water (for it was not very deep), our footmen over the bridge. The passage was very strait for an army, and therefore the longer in setting over. Beyond this bridge about a mile westward (for so methought as then we turned), upon the same river on the south side, stands a proper house, and of some strength, belike; they call it Hayles Castle, and pertaineth to the Earl of Bothwell, but kept as then by the governor's appointment, who held the earl in prison.—Patten's Journal.

The army kept along the coast, to be near their ships, which were in the Forth; from Hailes they proceeded by Beanston and Garleton to Longniddry, keeping clear of Haddington; their encampment on the 9th September being at Salt Preston.

* The Lord of Yester and Hobby Hambleton, captain of Dunbar, were amongst the prisoners taken at the battle of Pinkey.

Scots, who joined them with 8000 men, and their first campaign opened with the siege of Haddington.

Haddington was evidently a fortified town of considerable extent, which was strengthened and augmented by the English, aided by the skill of their Italian allies. But although the ancient walls extended considerably beyond the site occupied by its present buildings, it does not appear to have been protected by a castle. In Ayloffe's Calendar of the Ancient Charters (preserved in the Tower of London) a "castrum de Hadington" is mentioned; but Chalmers justly observes, that wherever castles existed they were distinctly marked in the grants made by Baliol to Edward III. in 1334. Situated on a plain, unlike Dunbar and Tantallon, nature had stampt it with no rocky eminences, frowning o'er the steep, for an impregnable fortress; but from the fertile district with which the burgh was surrounded, particularly towards the coast, distant only a few miles, it must have afforded abundant supplies for a numerous garrison; hence we find that, besides the inhabitants, the town and suburbs accomodated 2500 men. In describing the warlike operations of the siege, we shall follow the account given by Monsieur Beague (an attache to the army), who visited this country with the French auxiliaries in 1548, and who must have been sufficiently versed in military affairs to have given a correct description of what he saw. His work was written in French, from which our limits will only allow us to give an abridged detail.*

As a place of strength, the *donjon*, the strongest part of a feudal castle, a high square tower, with walls of tremendous thickness, could not be battered save on one side, and that division was guarded by the river Tyne, while a *cavalier*, raised on the most exposed place of its rampart, sheltered both the house and its soldiers. "In fine," observes M. Beague, "the fort was so very convenient and spacious, that the garrison, in case of necessity, might retreat into it, draw up in order of battle, and

* For a further description, see the author's "History of Haddington," p. 73.

[like the Sebastapol of recent times] raise new fortifications for a further defence." Such were the fortifications of Haddington, as described by this lively writer, which are now entirely demolished, having gradually given way to modern improvements.

The French, with their usual ardour, were anxious to try their prowess in the field against the English; and in a council of war it was determined that the recovery of Haddington should be the paramount object, as a place likely to cross their designs, and from which the 500 horse left there by Lord Grey constantly scoured and harassed the country.

General Desse having ordered his troops to be in readiness, he acquainted the queen-dowager and the Regent Arran of his intention, when the latter joined him with 800 horse from Edinburgh. As they left the city, Desse found the infantry ranked in order of battle by M. de Andelot, in an open field. He harangued them in the most flattering terms, and exhorted them to show their bravery before the Scots. "For my own part," says he, "I resolve in this armour, both on foot and on horseback, to shew you the path that leads to glory; and I hope that this very arm, so oft and honourably dipt in English blood, shall yet be felt by them not at all weakened, or short of what it has been." The army was divided into two bodies, the one consisting of Germans, under Count Rimgrave, and the other under the daring M. de Andelot. Within a mile and a half of Musselburgh, they were met by M. de Anche, who brought information that the English had retreated to Haddington, upon which Desse smiled, and turning to the Regent Arran, and to M. Strozzi and De Andelot, said, "Here De Anche brings us good news; for if the English are frightened before they have seen us, how much more will our nearer approach alarm them."

The Scots in the meantime advanced to Haddington, where they waited in hopes that the English would break out upon them; but they only fired some cannon from the ramparts. Captain Loup, who had been lying in wait with a party of fifty lancers, seeing this, returned from his ambush, and informed

Desse of the circumstance. After a severe contest on the Links of Musselburgh, where the English bowmen showed their dexterity, and the French their bravery, furnished with head-pieces and coats-of-mail, the former were foiled, leaving the battle-field strewn with the killed and wounded.

After this skirmish, General Desse, at the head of fifty horse, encountered Sir John Wilford, commander of the forces in Haddington, who, to rescue his own soldiers, came out of the town with 200 lancers and twenty-five arquebusiers ; but these, according to the French journalist, were mostly cut off by the valour of their general, and the retreating companies chased back to the gate of the burgh. In the meantime, a constant firing was kept up from the ramparts ; but by reason of floods of rain, and the dark majesty of night, the balls fell without effect.

Desse, after his attack at Musselburgh, encamped in the neighbourhood of Haddington. Lord Home, who had preceded him, was engaged in a skirmish with the English when the French vanguard came up. Being nearly worsted, Captain Gourdes came to his assistance—which he did with such success, that the English were compelled to fall back under the shelter of the walls of Haddington :—

> Next unto Berwick, Haddington faced all
> The greatest dangers, and was Scotland's wall ;
> By valiant arms oft guarded it from woes,
> And often carried home the spoils of foes.*

But the French, perceiving a reinforcement advancing, retreated apace, when Captain Villeneuve coming up with a reinforcement, broke the ranks of the English, and pursued them with great slaughter to the brink of the fosse which surrounded the ramparts, and pushed a great many into the ditch with his own hands ; but in this act he was mortally wounded by a musket ball, and died on the spot. Upon which M. du Belley writes, quoth the journalist—

* Johnstoun's "Epigrams on the Royall Burghs." Aberdeen, 1685. Published at Middleburgh, 1642.

Fate, on swift wings, doth unexpected cóme,
Nor can our fears or caution change our doom.

While these skirmishes were going on before the walls of Haddington, Desse was not idle. He attacked and repulsed a party of English near the Abbey of North Berwick. Haddington was now invested on all sides, and a sharp contest kept up. A considerable body of Scots, from the islands of Orkney and the south, who were assembled in Edinburgh by the queen-mother, joined the French camp, and were considered "very good company" for the space of twenty days. These warlike kernes skirmished late and early with the English, and had scarcely taken up their residence in the camp, when about 600 stole away from the main body, and marched right to the gates of Haddington.* They instantly beat off the advanced guards of the English with a volley of arrows, and then, sword in hand, rushed upon 500 or 600, posted between the port and the barriers; but the noise of the artillery, which was new to them, soon quelled their courage as effectually as ever it fell on an Indian heart. The Highlanders shut their ears, and threw themselves on their bellies at each shot of the cannon. The English, seeing this disorder, sought to avail themselves of the advantage; but Captain Linleres met them half way, and put an end to the pursuit. Twenty-five of his arquebusiers fired upon their flank, while M. de Andelot, at the head of fifty gentlemen, who had waited upon him from his tent as he was visiting the trenches, attacked them, and drove them back to their barriers.

General Desse took the opportunity of making a narrow and leisurely inspection of the English works and defences; and,

* They wore coats of mail (says the journalist); each had a large bow in his hand, and their quivers, swords, and shields, hung as it were in a sling. They were followed by several Highlanders; and these last go almost naked. They have painted waistcoats, and a sort of woollen covering, variously coloured (evidently tartan), and armed as the rest with large bows, broadswords, and targets. There was not one of them but gave convincing proofs that they stood in no awe of the English.—Beague's Hist. Campagnes. These mercenary soldiers, like the Zouaves in the late Russian war, no doubt stole from our ranks in quest of plunder.

when retiring, witnessed a notable and daring exploit of one of the Highlanders that belonged to the Earl of Argyle. This gallant fellow had observed the fearlessness of the French in bearding the very mouth of the enemy's cannon, which he being willing to imitate, went straight upon a party of the English, who had engaged some Frenchmen under Captain Voquedemar, and, with incredible celerity, seizing one of them, in spite of his struggles, trussed him upon his back, and in this plight brought him to the camp—during which the enraged captive bit the soldier's shoulder in such a manner, that he almost died of the wound. The general rewarded this action with a coat-of-mail and twenty crowns, a compliment which the Highlander gratefully appreciated. In the meantime, an Italian deserter from the town brought intelligence to the general that the English had neither victuals nor ammunition remaining for a siege of twelve days. From this and other information, Desse caused expedite the work of the trenches with such diligence, that in two days' time they had advanced to the foot of the bulwark, which he attempted by sapping.

About eleven at night the French advanced their gabionades, and made loop-holes for six guns; and "thence, by break of day," says M. Beague, "we awakened those in Haddington with a vengeance, and battered at once the wall betwixt the Port of Edinburgh (West Port) and Tybere's Bulwark, and the breastworks of the curtain." This day 340 balls were sent from six pieces of cannon upon the front of the wall and the breastworks of the curtain, which, from its wonderful thickness, defied their efforts. This induced Desse to remove the gabionades, and to place them at a lower distance. Again the guns were discharged 200 times, made a great noise, without effecting any purpose. Upon which a council of war was held, and the siege discontinued.

While these desultory affairs were going on, the queen-dowager had carried the young queen to Dumbarton, as a place of security till she could be shipped for France. Mary was not

above six year's old; "but even then," says the enraptured Beague, "one of the most *perfect* creatures the Author of Nature had ever framed. Her match was nowhere to be seen, nor had the world another child of her fortune and hopes."

General Desse, to prevent the town from receiving supplies during the night, appointed his gen-de-arms and the cavalry to be continually on the watch at one of the avenues that led to the camp. The English, who had long been seeking to bribe a passage to the place, at length resolved to attempt its relief, and to throw in 200 men, powder and balls, and such provisions as the besieged stood in need of. Desse, informed of this circumstance, came out of the trenches, and informed the French guard, that as they had humbled such as their ordnance and ramparts could not protect, it now behoved them to reduce those that might not dare to meet them in the field. After using this French faronade, the general was on the eve of seeking the road whence the supplies were expected, when a Scotsman, who went by the equivocal nickname of "The Man with the Two Heads!" persuaded him by means of a thousand oaths, and as many not improbable assertions, that it was more expedient to march by another way, which he pointed out to the Earl of Arran, that both might meet together, and fall upon the approaching troops. This information was absolutely false, and, through the obscurity of the night, the supplies reached the town by the same path that he was advised to abandon. Shortly after "The Man with the Two Heads" (who was one of those who corresponded with the Earl of Lennox) had played this trick to the French, the Scots, with the exception of 600 lancers that belonged to the Earls of Arran and Huntly, withdrew to their homes.*

* Some apology seems necessary for the sudden withdrawal of the Scots. "The Scots," says M. Beague, alluding to their present desertion, "never take the field but when forced to arms by necessity. The reason is this, they serve at their own charges, and therefore cannot spin out time, as all the nations in Europe do but themselves. They carry along with them all necessaries for the time they resolve either to encamp or to scour the campaign. This time is but short, but they love it not; for they make

The queen-dowager, informed of the posture of affairs, and that a number of the French were idling at Edinburgh, and that most of the Scots had returned to their homes, immediately commanded all the gentlemen of her palace, and such of her other servants as could carry arms, to repair to the French camp at Haddington. Thither she sent large quantities of bread, wine, ale, and meat, and sent an assurance with her domestics to the soldiers, "That she meant to repay the services she expected from their bravery with a greater compliment, and to employ the means God Almighty had left in her hands to reward their merit in a more particular manner." These presents were highly acceptable to the camp, and inspired the soldiers with a high sense of her majesty's bounty. This accomplished, the queen-dowager mounted on horseback, and accompanied only by her ladies and maids of honour, visited the houses of the citizens of Edinburgh, and stimulated them to use their exertions in sending supplies of men to Haddington.

Lord Grey had despatched from Berwick Sir Robert Bowes, warden of the west marches, and Sir Thomas Palmer, with 1000 foot and 500 horse, to throw fresh reinforcements into Haddington, who were now rapidly approaching. A few hours before day, some English began to draw near the French camp, in the expectation that they would find the sentinels asleep, and thus overpower the advanced guards ere the army had leisure to form; but the vigilance of Lord Home defeated this manœuvre. General Desse made the horsemen retire, and, without creating

it their business to seek out the enemy, and fight with invincible obstinacy, especially when they have to do with the English; for the reciprocal hatred of these two nations is intermingled with their vital spirits, and essential to their being. Neither is it, in my opinion, to be eradicated out of their breasts, so long as ambition shall prompt men to domineer, or jealousy repine at encroaching grandeur. This done, and their victuals being consumed, they break up their camp, or retire in different bodies one after another."—Some of the sentiments here expressed can only now be read with a smile; yet fifty years have only elapsed since we have also heard, in the political changes of time, grave and pious men hold up the French themselves as our "natural enemies!" and in the words of Burns, "nail'd with Scripture."

any public alarm, passed the orders from tent to tent, commanding each corps to be in readiness to fight in such posts as had been marked out for them. Andelot drew up the French infantry, and Count Rimgrave the Germans, almost instantly. Desse went from rank to rank, and encouraged the men, in the usual style of French faronade. While thus inspiring the army "to deeds of glory in the battle-field," the English appeared on the neighbouring hill, divided into two squadrons, consisting of about 500 horse, well armed for the most part after the French fashion. These men, with the exception of 200 Albanians, who had been trained up in the wars of France, were all English—men such as had attended the court, who had signalized their courage in several remarkable exploits, and had been selected for this expedition from the elite of the forces.

"The English came no sooner in view," says M. Beague, "than our soldiers gave all the apparent signs of joy that could be wished for, and demanded with loud acclamations to be led on to the enemy. But the officers made the army halt, and a great many of them went into Haddington; but whether with a design to see or to confer with their friends, it is certain that in this they committed a great error, for by this means they at once gave time to the ardour of their men to cool, and created in us a contempt of their courage, believing that this trifling and wasting of time proceeded from want of resolution and experience."

While the English commanders were thus dalying with their brethren, and congratulating them on the vigorous defence they had sustained for nearly three months, they flattered them that henceforth they should have little to accomplish—that one day's work was likely to put an end to the war—to disperse and overthrow all the Frenchmen in Scotland. Desse, satisfied of the courage of his soldiers, sent off twenty, under M. de Etauges, to pickeer; and the Earl of Cassilis, with fifty light horse of the Scots, was sent to support him. M. de Andelot at the same time advanced at the head of his battalion. Count Rimgrave had posted the German troops a little higher, on the left of the

French infantry, with a design to fall on the flank of the English, as soon as they came up with Andelot's battalion. He had also six field-pieces planted at the side of his regiment, to fire on the assailants. In this manner the two battalions marched to battle, with the cavalry and gen-de-arms on their wings.

M. de Andelot, leaving the ranks, took along with him 200 arquebusiers, and marching about (as if he meant to sound the ford of the river Tyne,* which divided them from the enemy), he was just about to attack forty or fifty horse, that had gained their flank, when perceiving a number of the enemy preparing to surprise him, he commanded his arquebusiers to turn their backs, and make a feint of flying; then seeing that they had entered the ford in order to follow, he faced about suddenly and gave a vigorous charge, when many were slain. This effected, he withdrew to more convenient ground, where he maintained his position nearly a quarter of an hour. In another part of the field, M. de Etauges and the Laird of Dun, at the head of some Scots, distinguished themselves, and killed several of the Albanians. Meanwhile, Desse's lieutenant came to the assistance of M. de Andelot. He had maintained his position against the English horse with much bravery; and the former now finding themselves assaulted on all sides, by means of this new reinforcement, began to retreat to their squadrons, leaving the ground covered with the wounded and slain. Each army now advancing slowly towards the other, "halt ere they close, and form the dreadful line," when General Desse, at the head of his gen-de-arms, with Lord Home, the Laird of Dun, and M. de Etuages, charged the enemy's flank, while De Andelot continued the vigorous resistance he had formerly made, striking a number of his foemen down with his halberds and pikes. He had intermixed the arquebusiers with the rest of the foot, and those he kept in such order, as to enable them to fight the English, though on horse-

* There are at present two fords of the river Tyne at Haddington, one at the North-east Port, and another between the Nungate Bridge and the parish church.

back, man to man. Count Rimgrave endeavoured to oppose the second squadron of the English, who now made a movement for the support of the first, but without effect; and the battle now deepening, the fight was pursued with matchless fury on both sides. The troops under Desse, Lord Home, and the Laird of Dun, performed wonders, each nation, out of sheer vanity, endeavouring to rival the prowess of the other. The fortune of the day was at last decided by an attack made by the Germans, who fell upon the English crossways. This manœuvre completely disordered their ranks, which made them fly in earnest, with neither courage nor leisure to rally. The slaughter was terrible. The allied officers, and most part of the soldiers and arquebusiers, had got their swords in their hands, and mixing themselves pell-mell with the enemy, houghed the horses, which so terrified them, that those few who got clear of the soldiers could not escape the hands of the boors, who cut them to pieces most unmercifully, filling all the roads and corners in the neighbourhood with the slain.

"In this battle," says M. Beague, "the English had about 800 men killed, and more than 2000 were made prisoners, whereas there fell not above fifteen on our side!" An assertion palpably false, as a few days afterwards the queen-dowager was at Haddington, lamenting over the French who had fallen in the late skirmishes. The loss of the English, however, was great, as acknowledged by their own writers.*

General Desse, thus master of the field, met Rimgrave and Andelot, who urged him to pursue the victory to the centre of the fort; but on holding a council of war, it was thought more expedient to withhold operations in the meantime. The queen-

* This engagement, so disastrous to the English, seems to have given rise to the name of the "Tuesday's Chase," a field fought 17th July, 1548.

The siege of Haddingtoune wes layed too by the Frenchmen, quhilk indurit ane haill zeir. In the quhilk tyme wes the Twesday's chaisse, quher mony of England wer takin and slaine.—MS. Advocate's Library.—Birrel's Diary.

John Knox, who was a decided enemy to Mary of Guise (the queen-mother) and her French auxiliaries, says, "that the English approaching

dowager seems to have been a model of Boadicia, and on receiving intelligence, she arrived in the camp just as they were about to beat the reveille at the guard. Her majesty shewed the greatest urbanity to the soldiers; took them by the hand—recommended them to their officers, and extolled their courage above all praise; and although she did not distribute medals to them, like the gracious Queen Victoria of our times, yet she ordered presents to the soldiers, as an earnest of her further liberalities.

The queen continued for several months in the neighbourhood of the camp, to direct the operations of the army. "A single leaf will waft an army on," and an incident now occurred which changed the features of the siege. Andelot brought before General Desse an Albanian soldier, whom he had rescued from the points of a hundred swords in the battle. This deserter undertook, on obtaining his life, to make a most important discovery, upon which he was ushered into the queen's presence, when, with a confident and brisk air, he spoke to the following purpose :—"That it was evident that the fortress of Haddington, environed as it was with fortifications of all sorts, was proof against all the cannon of Scotland—that it was not to be recovered but by the expedient of a long siege—and that, considering the strength of the garrison, it was scarcely practicable to make a breach; but, on the other hand, that Captain Tybere and his Italian troops were much dissatisfied with the usage they had received; and if her majesty thought it expedient that General Desse should remain before the town but for one month longer, provided he continued his usual vigilance to prevent the entry of

unto Haddingtoun, for the comfort of the besieged, with powder, victuals, and men, lost an army of 6000 men. Sir Robert Bowes was taken, and the most part of the Borderers were taken or slain, and so might the town justly have despaired of any further succour to have been looked for; yet it held good for the stout courage and prudent government of Sir James Wilford, general."—Knox's Hist. In fact it is almost impossible to calculate the losses of an army; each magnifies the successes of his party, and the losses of the enemy.

provisions and ammunition, it was certain that the town would be forced to capitulate." The queen immediately called a council, in which it was determined to endeavour to effect by famine what gallantry could not effect, and for the accommodation of the army during the blockade, that they should be lodged at Haddington (distant about 1500 paces), where the Scottish troops had encamped before.

After the French had left the trenches, several skirmishes took place with sorties from the garrison, one of which we shall notice, as characteristic of the chivalrous spirit of the times. About eleven at night, a party of 200 horse, consisting of English and Italians, wishing to surprise the Scottish horse-guard, went about and made a compass round the hill of Aberlady * (evidently Byriehill), while Sir James Wilford, the governor, at the head of 400 English and Italian foot, accompanied by sixty peasants as guides, issued forth, with a view of seizing some barley which had been left at the arquebusier's port, near the fosse. M. de Andelot, informed of the circumstance, caused cover the matches of the arquebusiers,† and after descrying a large circuit, got betwixt the enemy and their fort, so that by the obscurity of the night, and the noise of the fight commenced by Captain Gourdes, he remained undiscovered, and falling furiously on their rear, he cried out to his soldiers, "Fall on, comrades, and fear not a few rogues in their shirts!" for the governor and his men had come out in a sort of night-dress. Sir James Wilford, finding himself surprised, made straight to M. de Andelot, who was in the front; while he, fond of the opportunity of facing the Governor of Haddington in person, because of the reputation he had acquired, received him as a Douglas would have welcomed a Percy. "But not to enlarge on the single combat they fought (which might appear like a story apiece to those of old romance), I shall only tell that M. de Andelot had the good luck to wound the governor in the hand,

* See Blaeu's Atlas.

† Flints were not then in use, and percussion springs unknown.

and that with his sword he so shattered his head-piece, that several times since he has publicly owned that he was never so heartily swinged in his life." The governor barely escaped by a timeous retreat.

The English cavalry, which had been led out by Tybere fared no better. They were repulsed by Lord Home and the Laird of Dun, who were that night upon guard.

While these bloody games were acted before Haddington, a parliament was convened at the Abbey, on the 7th July, 1548, where the French camp was now established. Through the influence of the queen-dowager, General Desse, and the ambassador, M. de Oyssel, the consent of parliament was obtained for the young queen's marriage with the Dauphin, and of her education at the court of France. Those who favoured the reformation of religion were most averse to the measure, and would rather have submitted to any terms from the English. But French bribes and promises prevailed, and secured the majority. Of the latter was the regent, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was created Duke of Chatelherault, with a pension of 12,000 livres a-year, having been previously invested with the order of St Michael by the King of France; and with the promise of the command of the Scots guards, commonly called Gen-de-Armes Escosse, for his son. After these preliminaries, the young queen was consigned to the care of Monsieur Breze, who had been sent by the king, with the royal barge, for her conveyance to France. "And so, the Cardinal of Lorrain," says Knox, "got her in his keeping; a morsel, I assure you, meet for his own mouth . . . but from the time the Frenchmen had gotten the bone, for which the dog barked, the pursuit of the town was slow."

The Duke of Somerset beheld these proceedings in Scotland with a jealous and watchful eye. He assembled an army of 22,000 men for the invasion of Scotland, the command of which he bestowed on Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, while a fleet was

fitted out under his brother, Admiral Lord Seymour, to ravage the coast.

Desse, informed of these mighty preparations, sent an express to the Regent Arran, to remind him of the promise he had made to assist him with 6000 foot and as many horse, as often as he should stand in need of them ; and to assure his excellency, that if he was reinforced, that he would endeavour to give him a good account of the land forces of the English. This application, however, came too late, and the French had scarcely time to commence their retreat, before the enemy, whom they imagined they had baffled so long, was upon them. They however allowed them to retire unmolested.

The Earl of Shrewsbury now reinforced the garrison of Haddington with fresh troops, and supplied them with necessaries of all kinds, after being reduced to the last extremity.

At this critical period, Desse was reinforced by about 15,000 Highlanders, under the Duke of Argyle. They had not encamped when three English battalions and two regiments of horse appeared on the heights, where they had been stationed the previous day. After tarrying for the space of an hour, they departed without offering to molest the camp. M. de Andelot and Count Rimgrave drew up their battalions in order of battle, while the Scots Highlanders animated themselves with the sound of the bagpipes. Desse reconnoitred the enemy, and, on the report he received, resolved to stand his ground, and to fight the enemy should they attack him, and every effort was tried to wean the French from their position, but in vain. Had the Scottish generals acted with the same precision on the Duke of Somerset's late invasion, their historian would have had a different tale to relate.

For securing the communication between Berwick and Haddington, it was judged necessary to build a new fort at Dunglas; and to defend those employed in carrying on the work, the Germans, together with some bands of English horse and foot, remained. Meanwhile Lord Grey, on whom the command of

the English marches had again devolved, aided by these German troops, overran Teviotdale and Liddisdale, ravaging and destroying the country without mercy.

General Desse, being informed that Lord Grey had dislodged from Haddington, and that about 500 horse, which he had left in the same place, were daily sallying forth and harassing the soldiers and the country in repeated skirmishes, resolved on endeavouring to take Haddington by a coup-de-main. For this purpose, M. de Andelot and Count Rimgrave picked out 100 of their best foot and 300 horse, and took up an ambush behind a hill not far from the town, while Desse detached Captain Loup with ten horse, to provoke the enemy to skirmish, and appointed M. de Etauges to advance slowly, and support him with the rest of his cavalry. Loup had scarcely come in view of the English, when all their horse, and some foreigners on foot, issued out of the town, and fell upon the cavalry of M. de Etauges; upon which Desse sent an express to M. de la Chapelle de Biron and to Captain Routouze, who had been left at the head of the foot, to march straight on the enemy, as soon as he should give the signal of a trumpet. The signal being sounded, and the English perceiving that the general, with his men-at-arms and two companies of foot, had broke forth upon them, endeavoured, but in vain, to make an orderly retreat. The French routed their opponents at the first onset, and followed them pell-mell within the gates of the suburbs of Haddington. Here a brave Englishman, enraged at the cowardly conduct of his countrymen, and believing that he could do something for the honour of his land, singly faced about, and fiercely attacked M. de Andelot, who was in the front; but he broke his lance in the attempt, and the officer warily sustaining the shock, despatched him on the spot with a thrust of his sword. The French now laid about them most furiously with their hangers and clubs, drove the enemy to the gates of the fort; and, according to the journalist, "without losing above *three* of their own number, sent off 300 to their last tribunal, to give an account of that

religion that taught them thus to sacrifice their honours and lives in a war *plainly unjust.** Besides the glory of vanquishing the enemy at the foot of their ramparts, we had the good luck to carry off eighty prisoners, and that in sight of the intimidated garrison."

After all this vaunting, the French raised their camp, and marched to Edinburgh; from whence Marshal Storri, the Lord de Andelot, and several other persons of quality, sailed for France. M. de la Chapelle de Biron, a man of unquestionable bravery and experience, was appointed colonel-general in Scotland, and Captain Bache, an Italian, had the command of four stoutly-armed gallies that remained in the service. The indefatigable Desse, with an activity of spirit that never tired, set about fortifying Leith, which induced a number of people from Haddington, Dundee, Glasgow, and Stirling, to come and settle there, which made the port of Edinburgh more rich and populous.

Desse's next exploit was an expedition to Jedburgh, where he was ordered by the queen to destroy some Spaniards who had taken refuge in the town, and who by their force or artifice had brought over a great part of that district to the English interest. He was accompanied in this expedition by 800 Scots on horseback, who were much surprised at the nice arrangements of the French in providing for the comfort of their camp.

The French troops were so different in their habits and manners from the Scots, that they could not long agree when encamped together. The gaiety and light frivolity of the one ill accorded with the shrewd gravity of the other. Further, there was a strong and rigid party who opposed them in defence of

* John Knox was of the same opinion; but unfortunately for our journalist, it was in favour of the other side. Speaking of the queen-mother after the battle of Pinkey, he says—"When the certainty of the discomfiture came, she was in Edinburgh, abiding upon the tidings; but with expedition she posted that same night to Stirling, with Monsieur de Oyssel, who was as fearful as 'a fox when his hole is smoked.' And thus did God take the second revenge upon the perjured governor, with such as assisted him to defend an *unjust quarrel*, albeit that many innocent fell amongst the wicked."—Knox's Hist. Reformation.

their religious principles, and the chief beheld with a jealous eye the favours bestowed upon foreigners by Mary of Lorraine. A serious quarrel at this time occurred between the French and Scots in Edinburgh, which led to disagreeable results, as the provost and his son, James Hamilton, captain of the castle, were slain in the skirmish. The whole city was roused at the slaughter of their provost, and some unfortunate persons were hung in the Grassmarket, to appease the populace. This occurrence was hailed with joy by the English, as likely to effect a breach between the allied nations. To do away with this impression, Desse found it prudent to muster his forces with the greatest secrecy, and if possible to divert the public mind by striking another and final blow at Haddington, which had foiled him so often. He accordingly marched to Musselburgh, and from thence eastward.

"All things being prudently and cautiously laid for the designed effort," says M. Beague, "about eleven o'clock at night every man was armed; and although the heavens were overspread with darkness, yet Desse was faithfully conducted by a secret and convenient avenue to the gates of Haddington, where he remained without being discovered, till some of the soldiers, after taking a half-moon battery before the port, and killing the sentinels, made the walls resound with the name of 'France!' At the same time we attacked the enemy's guard, and found they did their duty but negligently."

The bas-court before the east gate of the town was gained ere the garrison was alarmed; meanwhile some granaries, which the English possessed at the back of an adjacent church, were attacked, while the French were breaking open the port. This was so suddenly effected, that the garrison had little time to put themselves into a posture of defence. The Italian guard were put to the sword, and the few English who were upon duty fared no better. Indeed, fortune at first promised victory, but treachery frustrated their hopes.

Desse and his men were exposed to the mouth of a "double

cannon," planted between two gabions, upon the narrowest place of the entry or avenue which led to the town. This place had not been mastered as yet, when a French soldier, a native of Paris (who not long before had been corrupted by the enemy, and served him as a spy), was stationed at that very spot of ground. This renegade, dreading the punishment he deserved, had grown desperate, and, naked and unarmed as he was, ran to the double-mouthed cannon, and fired it. The ball made its way through the close ranks of the French, and could not fail to make a great slaughter amongst them. In consequence of this smart reception and the darkness of the night, which hindered them from ascertaining their real loss, which as yet was not sufficient to dishearten them, the French were seized with a sudden panic. A terrible cry ran through the battalion, which alarmed those in the rear, who began to retire; and those behind following their example, the French ranks were broken and thrown into the utmost confusion. The garrison being now under arms, a party sallying from a privy postern made such a furious onset with spears and swords, that very few of the French who had entered the lower or bas-court escaped alive. The brave Desse still kept his ground, and thrice renewed his attack in the morning; but at last, on the remonstrance of the other officers, and after suffering considerable loss, he was obliged to issue orders to sound a retreat. Dissembling his thoughts on this disastrous occasion, he smiled, and said to the Lord De Oyssel—"Let us then suppose, my friend, that we are at sea, and by storm constrained to lower our sails—what then? The wind is changeable, and a fairer gale will yet enable us to make out the voyage."

The journalist of the French army, who had been particularly minute in stating the exact numbers lost by the English in each encounter, is here silent in regard to his own. According to Hayward, sixteen carts were filled with the wounded, and 300 left dead before the walls of Haddington. Thus terminated this great siege, which had lasted nearly four months without inter-

mission, and without any material advantage to either party. The brilliant affair of Desse, in cutting of the supplies under Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer was in a great degree balanced by the disasters at Haddington, from whence he immediately retired. This assault happened in the beginning of October 1548.

We have made this digression from our history in regard to the siege of Haddington for this simple reason, that the French had a great ascendency in this country.

Ever since the regency of Albany, the castle of Dunbar had been garrisoned by the French.* It lay on the road to Berwick and Roxburgh, and as it was at no great distance from Haddington, Dunglas, Eyemouth, and Fast Castle, it was frequently, and even daily, visited by foraging parties from Haddington, during the siege, who plundered and harassed the country. The French captains had made frequent sallies to meet the marau-

* Monsieur Beague's description of Dunbar is so lively that we cannot avoid quoting it:—"The Captains Achault, Corroman, and Desme, were in garrison at Dunbar, a town that stands upon the brink of the sea, about ten leagues from Edinburgh, upon the skirts of Lothian, in a very good country, and accommodated with all these advantages, that conduce both to the pleasure and support of life. If the place was fortified and a good harbour contrived, which might be done with very inconsiderable charges, it would unquestionably claim a precedency among the goodliest towns which are anywhere to be seen in these islands. It has already a very strong and beautiful castle, built upon a high rock on the edge of the sea. The avenues that lead to it are not to be forced but with vast danger and difficulty; and art here has seconded nature so admirably well, that there are few places in the universe that can vie with those conveniences the castle of Dunbar affords for defence against batteries, or any warlike engine or invention whatever."—Hist. Campagnes.—It has been surmised that a drawing of the castle exists in the Scots College at Paris; but in a recent visit to that capital, Mr David Laing, the celebrated antiquarian, could discover no traces of our venerable fortress. That the French, who were excellent engineers, took drawings both of the castle of Dunbar and the fortifications of Haddington, there can exist no doubt. These may have perished with the private families to whom they belonged; but as the castle was latterly a demesne of the crown—the residence of Albany, and afterwards of Queen Mary—some sketch may be preserved in the continental palaces or feudal castles.

After the lapse of 300 years, the idea of this ingenious Frenchman, that "a good harbour" might be contrived at Dunbar, has been realized by the improvement of "Cromwell's" and the "Victoria."

ders; but as the former were on foot and the latter on horseback, they were unable to follow up their slight rencounters. At length these sallies designedly became more faint, and by this means inveigled the enemy nearer the place; for the English, imagining that the French were afraid to fight, would disperse themselves through the whole burgh of Dunbar, and alighting from their horses, would even enter the houses. Early one morning, the French posted most of their men in two houses, just opposite one another, and in the church at the entry to the town on the enemy's road. They had also distributed soldiers with arquebuses, and the like offensive weapons, in other houses through the streets, and had given necessary directions for their behaviour, whatever might happen. The English, as usual, made their appearance, and scattered themselves through the burgh, accompanied by Sir James Wilford, the governor of Haddington, with fifty or sixty arquebusiers on horseback, who were little more distant than the shot of an arquebuse from the castle. Captains Corroman, Desme, and Achault, broke forth from their lurking-places, and surrounded the enemy from all quarters. The governor of Haddington attempted to escape by the sea-side; but eighty soldiers who guarded that pass fired upon his cavalry, and prevented their advance; at the same moment, Captairs Achault and Desme fell upon their rear, and charging them from right to left with the greatest fury, bore many to the ground; while the arquebusiers, who were stationed in the houses of the town, having made apertures in the walls, fired as securely and directly as if they had been firing at a butt or a target.

The English thus cooped up, and attacked on all sides, exerted themselves with the greatest courage, and resolved to sell their lives dearly; for, in the language of our moralising journalist, "Those weapons which necessity affords, prove always the sharpest." At this critical moment, a Biscayan soldier, called Pellicque, a brisk resolute fellow (who was afterwards promoted to a lieutenancy in Captain Cageac's company),

assaulted the governor, bore in upon him most furiously with his pike, killed his horse, wounded himself, and forced him to surrender, while the rest of the soldiers who were not killed or taken, escaped by the fleetness of their horses.

At length what the gallant Desse could not obtain, the pestilence effected. The English regency was engaged in a war with France, and harassed by rebellions at home; while to add to their disasters, the plague had broken out amongst the garrison at Haddington, and swept away numbers daily.

"Haddington being kept," says John Knox, "and much hership done about in the country (for what the Englishmen destroyed not, that was consumed by the French), God begins to fight for Scotland; for in this town he sent a plague so contagious, that with great difficulty could they have their dead buried. They were often refreshed with new men, but all was in vain; hunger and plague within, and the pursuit of the enemy with a flying camp, lay about them, and intercepted all victuals (except when they were brought by a convoy from Berwick), so constrained them, that the council of England was compelled in the spring-time to call their forces from that place; and so, spoiling and burning some part of the town, they left it to be occupied by such as first should take possession—these were the Frenchmen, with a small number of the ancient inhabitants. And so did God perform the words and threatenings of Mr George Wishart, who said—'That for their contempt of God's messenger they should be visited with sword and fire—with pestilence, strangers, and famine.' All which they found in such perfection, that to this day yet that town has neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability as then did inhabit it."

> O leave the barren spot to me—
> Spare, woodman, spare the beechen tree!

which has nourished thee and thy forefathers! Knox was a native of an adjoining parish to Haddington; but here, as usual, he is carried away by his passionate zeal in favour of those who

were martyrs to his church—for unhappily the pestilence and famine were not confined to Haddington.

The Earl of Rutland, determined that neither soldiers nor military stores should fall into the hands of the French, entered Scotland with 6000 men, amongst whom were a band of German mercenaries. Entering Haddington in the night, they totally demolished the fortifications of the place; and, without molestation from either the Scots or their allies, conveyed the garrison with all their artillery and stores to Berwick, on the 1st October 1549. On the 22nd March 1550, letters were written to Lord Bowes, not to proceed in conveying the ordnance of Haddington from Dunglas, nor to send too large a supply of victuals to Lauder or that place, there being a prospect of peace, which happily was soon realised. On this occasion it was agreed that the forts of Dunglas and Lauder, which the King of England had built, "should be delivered to the Scots, together with all the ordnance within them, except what had been brought from Haddington, and that this restitution should be made as soon as commodiously might be before the second payment of 400,000 crowns, which the French had agreed to pay England for the restoration of Boulogne. The forts of Dunglas, Lauder, Roxburgh, and Eyemouth, were accordingly destroyed; and the castles of Dunbar and Blackness, and the forts of Broughty and Inchkeith, for commanding the entrance into the principal rivers, were garrisoned by the French during the peace. In 1551, the fort of Aberlady at Luffness was included in this destructive mandate, to be delivered up to Patrick Hepburn of Waughton for demolition, reserving the house and mansion to himself in heritage, on condition that he sent the ammunition and artillery to the castle of Dunbar at his own expense.

## CHAPTER XII.

For such a queen, the Stuart's heir,
A queen so courteous, young, and fair,
Who would not every foe defy?
Who would not stand, who would not die?
When the gale heaved her bosom's screen,
What beauties in her form were seen!
A sight so fair, on Scotland's plain,
A Scot shall never see again.—QUEEN'S WAKE.

DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERIES.—QUEEN MARY MARRIES DARNLEY.—MURDER OF RIZZIO.—MURDER OF DARNLEY.—THE QUEEN CARRIED TO DUNBAR—HER MARRIAGE WITH BOTHWELL.—FLIGHT OF BOTHWELL.

IN June 1555, the queen-regent, on her return from the southern shires, visited Dunbar; and in 1557 she sent De Oyssel, the lieutenant of the French king in Scotland, with a detachment of French from the castle, to rebuild the fortress of Eyemouth, which, by the convention of 1551, had been demolished.*

After the destruction of Perth and the abbey of Scone by the partisans of John Knox in 1559, the queen-regent, alarmed for her safety, fled with three hundred guards to the castle of Dunbar.†

The Lord Seton, who was provost of Edinburgh, abandoned his charge, and left the destruction of its monastic establishments to the mob. In short, the popular fervour had now arrived at such a height, that it was as easy for Canute to have driven back the ocean waves that mocked his rebuke as to have arrested its progress. The queen-regent now saw the necessity of a compromise; and issuing a proclamation, proposed calling a parliament in the following January to arrange differences, while

* Maitland. † Spottiswood.

during the interval all were allowed to indulge their own consciences in religious opinions, which was a great concession gained in persecuting times. In this proclamation, however, the "congregation" were blamed as particularly obnoxious: "they were in the practice of bringing English spies into their houses, and had violently entered the palace of Holyrood, and seized the printing-irons of the mint-house." According to Knox, "the queen, by corrupting or issuing base money, made to herself immoderate gains, whereby she might maintain the soldiery, wherefore it was found necessary that the printing irons, and all things pertaining thereto, should be staid, lest she should privily transport them to Dunbar." *

On Sunday the 26th July, the queen's forces marched on their return from Dunbar, and "the congregational army" not being properly united, retired before them. It was now found necessary by the reformers, or Protestants, to solicit the aid of England and of Elizabeth; and it was certainly more honourable to demand that of a sister state, although formerly an enemy by the perverse conduct of its rulers, than that of a foreign ally. But before doing this the congregational leaders were urged to the greatest extremity for want of specie to pay their troops.

"To pacify the men of war," says Knox, "a collection was devised; but because some were poor, and some were niggards and avaricious, there could no sufficient sum be obtained. It was thought expedient that a coin-house should be made; that every nobleman should coin his silver work and plate, to supply the present necessity; and there, through David Forres, John Hart, and others, who before had charge of the coining-house, did promise their faithful labours. But when the matter came to this very point, the said John Hart, and others of his faction, stole away, and took with them the instruments fit for that purpose.

In 1560, when the English forces under Lord Grey passed

* Knox's Hist. Calderwood observes—"The clipped and *rounged soulaces*" (*i.e.* the *gnawed sous*, a species of small money), "which had not passed these three years bygone in France, were commanded by her to have free course within this realme."—Calderwood's Hist.

Dunbar on their way to Leith, some skirmishers sallied from the garrison; but as they kept near the walls of the castle, only a few lives were lost.*

While the English were now aiding the cause of the Reformers at the siege of Leith, the latter were employed in the destruction of palaces and abbeys in another quarter. Nor were there opponents less active; for Bothwell and the French commandant of Dunbar cut to pieces many straggling parties of Scotch and English, and more than once seized the military chest when on on its way from Berwick.†

In a hasty and ill-conducted attack to scale and storm the town of Leith, the English sustained a repulse, the failure of which was attached to Sir James Crofts, who did not make the assault at the part of the wall assigned to him. Norfolk (in a letter to Cecil) calls Crofts the Bell-wether of all his mischief, and got him superseded in the command of Berwick, which was conferred on Lord Grey.‡ The last succours sent from Berwick to Leith were two bodies of 300 men each, who setting out on the 8th, arrived in the camp on the 10th June. The same day, the Queen-regent of Scotland, worn out with grief and vexation at the wavering interests of her party, died in

* Ridpath. † Maitland.

‡ "The queen-regent at a distance beheld the overthrow," says the historian of the Congregation, "and as the ensigns of the French were displayed on the walls, she gave a *gawf* of laughter, and said, 'now will I go to the mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes hath seen.' The French, proud of their victory, stripped naked the slain, and laid their carcases along the wall in the hot sun, unto which, when the queen-regent looked, for mirth she leapt, and said, 'Yonder is the fairest tapestry that I ever saw; I would that the whole fields that are betwixt this place and you were strewed with the same stuff.'"—These expressions drew forth the anathemies of John Knox, who boldly affirmed in the pulpit, "That God should revenge that contumely done to *his image!* not only on the furious and godless soldiery, but even in such as rejoiced thereat; and the very experience proved that he was not deceived, for within a few days after (yea, some say that same day), began her belly and legs to swell, and so continued till that God in his wisdom took her away from this world."

The garrison at Leith was in such a miserable condition, that horseflesh sold at a considerable price.

the castle of Edinburgh, little regretted but by those in her immediate interest.

The English and French ambassadors having met at Berwick for the purpose of negotiating a truce, it appeared to be one great object of the Scottish nobility and people to get the French garrisons sent out of the country. But while thus anxious for their removal, they at the same time were equally anxious that their departure should not take place till restitution had been made to those they had wronged. Here two difficulties occurred. The commissioners of France wished that a certain number of men should remain for the service of the king and queen, while those that were disbanded should be allowed to depart with their baggage unmolested. At length, to propitiate both parties, through the intercession of the Queen of England, concessions were made to the nobility and people; and part of the fortifications lately built at Dunbar were to be razed, and no new buildings erected without the consent of Parliament. These resolutions are noticed in a parliamentary article, entitled, "Concessions granted by the King and Queen to the nobility and people of Scotland." *

From these articles it appears that certain new works lately erected at Dunbar were to be demolished. On the 16th July 1560, the French army embarked in English vessels, and the English army, when on their way to Berwick, made it their business to see that the demolition of the fort lately built in front of the castle of Dunbar should be put in execution.

Mary having turned her attention to a matrimonial alliance, formed the resolution of espousing her cousin, Lord Darnley, eldest son of Matthew, Earl of Lennox. The latter had resided in England ever since he had abandoned his own country; and as the price of his allegiance and services, had received in marriage the Lady Margaret Douglas (the niece of Henry VIII.), by whom Darnley was his son. Darnley being a native of England, and the eldest male descendant of the

* Keith's Hist. p. 137.

daughter of Henry VII., he was presumptive heir to the crown of England—a matter that induced Mary to form her choice. But the ancient enemies of the house of Lennox, especially the Hamiltons, were averse to a match which would restore that house to their ancient dignities and possessions; and Moray and Maitland, who ever since the queen's return from France had governed all public affairs, felt a jealousy of being superseded by a beloved husband. These fears were promoted by the insolence and folly that soon appeared in Darnley's proceedings. The Queen of England encouraged these domestic discontents, declared openly against the new alliance, and imprisoned Lady Lennox in the Tower. The chieftains of the borders, particularly Lord Home and the Lairds of Cessford and Fernihurst, were forward to serve her at this eventful crisis. Lord Home was in hopes of being created Earl of March; and Randolph, in a letter to Elizabeth, advises his mistress "to find Home business at *home!* by hiring some of the strapand Elliots to oblige him to keep at home to look after his corn and cattle." But the men of Liddesdale were at that time wholly in the interests of England, and could not by all Bothwell's promises be induced to give their aid to the queen.

Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, who had been convicted of joining with his father in an enterprise against the queen, in 1562, and was condemned for high treason, which was commuted into imprisonment in the castle of Dunbar, was liberated.

In the last week of the stormy year 1562, Queen Mary left Edinburgh for a brief visit to Dunbar, to be merry with her brother, Lord John of Coldingham. She next proceeded to Castle Campbell, where she honoured the nuptials of the secularised Abbot of St Colm and the Earl of Argyle's sister with her presence. It was at this time that her minister, the new Earl of Moray, caused the heir of the ruined house of Gordon to be brought to trial for high treason; and although the only crime of the unfortunate young nobleman was being the repre-

sentative of that devoted family, he was by his time-serving judges found guilty, and doomed to be hung and his body quartered. Mary could not be induced to consent to this iniquitous sentence, and she caused the victim of Moray's policy or vengeance to be removed from Edinburgh castle to Dunbar, on the 11th February, and put into free ward there, under the charge of the captain of that fortress, until further orders. Moray, finding it impossible to persuade his royal sister to sign the death-warrant, endeavoured to compass his sanguinary design by outwitting her. One day when he brought an unusual number of ordinary papers which required her signature, and which she was accustomed to sign without reading, fully confiding in the description he gave her of their purport, he shuffled in among the rest a mandate in her name, addressed to the Captain of Dunbar, ordering him immediately, on the receipt of the same, to strike off the head of his prisoner, George Gordon, commonly called Lord Gordon and the Earl of Huntly.*

The queen signed the fatal order, unsuspicious of its murderous intent; and the artful statesman, who had thus imposed on his royal mistress, despatched the paper by a trusty messenger to the captain of Dunbar. That gentleman was surprised and troubled, and with much concern communicated its purport to Gordon. "It is the malice of the bastard," exclaimed the young earl, with passionate vehemence, "for the queen sent me assurances of her pity; and I know, and am sure, it is not her intention to take my life." He then implored the castellan to suspend the execution of the warrant till he should have seen her majesty, and heard from her own lips whether it were indeed her irrevocable intention that the instructions in that paper should be acted upon. Touched with compassion for his noble prisoner, and suspecting that foul play was designed, the captain of Dunbar generously risked his own ruin, by venturing to postpone the execution of the warrant till he should have returned

* History of the Noble Family of Gordon, quoted by Miss Strickland, vol. iii.

from Edinburgh. He arrived there at the dead of night. Being well known to the warders and porter at Holyrood as a person in her majesty's confidence, he obtained admittance into the palace, and made his way to her bed-chamber door; but there he was stopped by the guard, who told him the queen had retired for the night, and was in bed. In consequence of his urgency as related life or death, the lady in waiting was summoned, to whom he protested that he must see her majesty on business that would brook no delay. Mary being informed, desired that he should be ushered in, that he might declare his errand at her bedside. He entered with heavy looks, approached, and kneeling, told her he had obeyed her order. She, wondering, asked—"What order?" "For striking off Huntly's head," he replied. Suddenly roused by intelligence so astounding, Mary seemed at first as one still dreaming; but when she comprehended the announcement, she burst into lamentation, mingled with passionate reproaches, to the captain of Dunbar, for the murderous deed which had been perpetrated against her instructions. He showed her the order signed by her own hand. Tears gushed from her eyes. "This is my brother's subtlety," she exclaimed, "who, without my knowledge or consent, hath abused me in this and many other things." "It is good," says the captain of Dunbar, "that I was not too hasty in such a matter, and resolved to know your majesty's will from your own mouth." Mary, in a transport of joy at finding the murder had not been perpetrated, tore the paper eagerly, commended the prudence of her castellan, and enjoined him to give no credence to any instrument touching his noble captive, but only to her own word, spoken by herself in his hearing; and charged him in the meantime to keep him safely till she could resolve what best to do.*

It having been bruited at this critical juncture that the queen,

* This interesting fact the Baron of Pitburg, in his manuscript History of the Family of Gordon, declares he had from his father, to whom it was related by Huntly's own lips.

who had professed herself weary of the thankless responsibilities of her vocation, intended to withdraw to France or Lorraine, excited great anxiety in the public mind. Watchful attention was paid to her movements at this time, which are thus described by Randolph :—

"Her grace went upon Monday last to Dunbar—a few in company only, to pass her time. Immediately hereupon riseth the bruit 'that there were two ships that arrived there that night, and either that there was some nobleman come out of France, or that the queen, taking a despite against this country, would again into France, and for that cause Martignes came to Calais to receive her, and the ships to convoy her.' To strengthen this suspicion, it was said that in the night there was conveyed out of the Abbey four great chests, and her grace, being on horseback, should say unto my Lord Morton, 'God be with you, my Lord of Morton; I will bring you other *novelles* (tidings) when I come again.'

"The next day cometh this news, that one of the two ships, that are laden with artillery to come into Scotland, was arrived at Dunbar, and the other was taken by the Englishmen. That night, being Wednesday, sudden warning was given to all my Lord of Moray's servants and friends in this town to ride out, and to lodge themselves in towns and houses about Dunbar, for that my Lord of Bothwell was come secretly to speak with the queen, with many horses, and my Lord of Moray, being without any company, might perchance have fallen into some danger. The last news of all was, that my Lord of Moray was commanded to ward there.

"With these news," continues Randolph, in reference to the above false reports, "there was one ready to have ridden away to my Lord of Argyll, of whose stay I think I was myself the occasion; and if I had been as hasty to believe as I was credibly informed, and earnestly advised and required from wise men to write away to your honour" (Cecil) "in time, I might by this time have put your honour in great doubt of cumber here, and

showed myself more hasty than wise. I took this resolution with myself, that if there had been appearance of the first bruit to have been true of the queen's departure, or the last, which was my Lord of Moray's imprisonment, I would myself have gone to Dunbar to have been near her grace, and have learned of herself what her meaning was. But finding, by diligent inquisition, not one of all these bruits to be true, I thought it best to seem as though I had never heard word of them." *

The domestic quiet of the queen was of short duration, for she was frequently engaged in quarrels with her consort. Lord Darnley was a man of loose principles, and soon treated her with marked neglect; while an ill-judged attachment which she formed for Rizzio, an Italian musician, drew on her the most unhappy consequences. This excited the indignation of Darnley, who placed himself at the head of a plot for destroying the luckless minion. It was agreed that the Earl of Morton, with 160 men, should seize the gates of the palace, and that Darnley, accompanied by Lord Ruthven, Douglas, and his associates, should seize Rizzio in the queen's presence. Morton having secretly secured the entrances while her majesty was at supper with the Countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and a few domestics, Darnley suddenly entered the apartment by a private passage, followed by the Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, in complete armour, with Maitland of Lethington, and other accomplices. This unusual appearance created alarm, and the poor victim, in the utmost consternation, retired behind his royal mistress. Ruthven, who for some time had been so emaciated by disease, that he could scarcely bear the weight of his armour, with his helmet on his head, seemed to be the moving picture of death, and with a voice dreadfully hollow, after reproaching Rizzio for the bad offices he had done the king (Darnley), by endeavouring to withhold from him the matrimonial crown, drew his dagger, and wresting him from the queen, to whom he clung, forced him into the antichamber, where the wretched minion fell pierced

* Randolph to Cecil, Feb. 28, 1564. State Paper MS.

with fifty-six wounds, in a less honourable position than Julius Cæsar. Thus fell Rizzio, whose real crime was that of being a foreigner, and because he was imprudently intrusted by his mistress in affairs which she could commit to no other secretary, while his presumption and insolence had rendered him obnoxious to the nobility. That there was any criminal intercourse between this unfortunate minion and the queen was as improbable as it was malicious to suppose; for while Darnley was distinguished by the graces of his person, the figure of Rizzio was described by Buchanan as so ugly and awkward, that no dress could make him look like a gentleman.

Mary, alarmed for her safety, left Edinburgh on the following Monday at midnight, in company with Darnley, and proceeded to the palace of Seton, whence she pursued her journey to the safer retreat of the castle of Dunbar. Having thus seduced the king to abandon his party, the queen's next step was to avenge the murder of her favourite. A proclamation was accordingly issued from Dunbar on the 16th March,* calling on the inhabitants of the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, in the constabulary of Haddington, Linlithgow, Stirling, Lanark, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Berwick, Lauder, &c., to meet her at Haddington, on Sunday the 17th current, with eight days provisions, "and ordanis thairfoir letteris to be direct to officiaris of armes to pass to the mercat-croces of the said burgh of Haddingtoun, and utheris places neidfull, and thair be openin proclamatioun charge all as aforesaid, under the pane of tynsal of lyff, lands, and gudis." †

After issuing this proclamation, Mary sent orders to Lord Erskine to fire upon the associated lords from the castle of Edinburgh; and the Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, the barons of Ormiston, Warriston, &c., were immediately summoned to appear, under pain of rebellion; but the two first fled to New-

* Present—George Earl of Huntly, James Earl of Bothwell, John Earl of Athol, William Earl Mareschal, David Earl of Crawford, Gilbert Earl of Cassilis, and George Earl of Caithness.

† Keith's App. 130, who quotes Acts of Privy Council.

castle, while the others sought refuge in the Highlands or on the border. The queen thereafter returned to Edinburgh in triumph, with 8000 warriors in her train. Sir James Melville (one of the gentlemen of her chamber at Haddington), says, that she complained bitterly of Darnley's conduct in the late assassination; and from that day forward never met him with a smile.*

The birth of James VI., which soon took place, made no alteration with regard to the prejudices she had imbibed against the king. But if Rizzio fell by the instigation of Darnley, the latter was himself soon destined to fall by the devices of one still more favoured. This imprudent woman, regardless of the suspicion attached to her conduct, threw herself into a dangerous illness, by riding post to Hermitage Castle for the purpose of seeing Bothwell, who had been wounded in an affray with the marauders of Liddesdale. "There is a tide in the affairs of men;" and to mark how fast that of Darnley was ebbing, in January 1566, Mary went to Glasgow to visit her husband, who was slowly recovering from the supposed effects of poison. On consenting to be removed to Edinburgh, he had apartments assigned him in a remote part of the city, in a solitary place called "Kirk-of-Field" (now the site of the Royal Infirmary), while Bothwell was royally lodged in Holyroodhouse. The solitude of the place encouraged Bothwell to execute what he had so long premeditated. He believed Morton, like himself, to be a man of no principle; and the earl had no sooner returned from England, on being pardoned by the queen for being concerned in the assassination of Rizzio, than he met him at Whittingham, and directly proposed that he should join him in assassinating the king, and requested him to subscribe a bond to that effect. Morton, instead of being startled at so execrable a proposal, asked Bothwell whether he had the queen's warrant for the murder. He was answered in the negative; but he believed that her majesty was very earnest the deed should be accomplished, because she blamed her husband more for Rizzio's

* Spottiswood, 200.

murder than she did Morton. Bothwell afterwards employed Douglas, the favourite of Morton (brother to the Laird of Whittingham), and the same who had been so active in Rizzio's death, to persuade the earl to the murder, but he still insisted on the warrant.

The fatal charm was now nearly wound up. On the 9th her majesty appeared uncommonly kind to the invalid, but took leave of him at midnight for the great purpose of attending the marriage of Sebastian, a facetious musician. Meanwhile Bothwell, to make sure work of his victim, came upon the king in his sleep, and after strangling him, removed the body into an orchard, when, to avoid suspicion, the house was immediately blown up by gunpowder, which had been brought from the castle of Dunbar. Bothwell was instantly accused of this atrocious murder, to which his intimacy with the queen seemed to lend its sanction. Lennox, the father of Darnley, stood forward as the accuser; and on the 28th March 1567, the Privy Council directed that the "enormous subject" and his associates should appear before the tribunal of their country. The same faction, however, which had goaded the ambition of Bothwell, now interposed, and by means of intrigue and influence obtained his acquittal; * yet that he was the contriver of the plot was afterwards confirmed by his own confession when a prisoner in Denmark.†

A very few days after his acquittal, Bothwell was permitted by the infatuated Mary to carry the sword before her in the procession to parliament; and, as a prelude to higher favours, besides the ratification of his other lands and offices, he was awarded the following in the neighbourhood of Dunbar:—

"On the 19th of April, in parliament, the queen taking regard and consideration of the great and manifold good service done and performed, not only to her highness's honour, weill, and estimation, but also to the commonweill of her realm and lieges thereof, by James, Earl Bothwell; and that, through his

* Chalmers' Cal. ii. † Keith's Hist.

great service foresaid, he not only frequently put his person in peril and danger of his life, but also super-expended himself, alienated and mortgaged his living, lands, and heritage, in exorbitant sums, whereof he is not hastily able to recover the same, and that he, his friends, and kinsmen, for the most part dwell next adjacent to her highness's castle of Dunbar, and that he is most habile to have the captaincy and keeping thereof, and that it is necessarily required that the same should be well entertained, maintained, and furnished, which cannot be done without some yearly rent and profit given to him for that effect, and also for reward of his said service: Therefore, her majesty infefted him and his heirs male in the office of the captaincy keeping of the castle of Dunbar, and also in the crown lands of Easter and Wester Barns, the lands of Newtonleyes, Waldane, Rig and Fluris, Myreside, with the links and coning-yairs (warrens), &c., the mill called Brand's-smyth, West Barnes mill, with their lands, and L.10 of annual rent from the lands of Lochend, with all the lands, privileges, and fees belonging to the government of the castle, lying in the constabulary of Haddington, and sheriffdom of Edinburgh, holding of her highness and her successors, in as full a manner as if contained at length in the charter and infeftment, of the date of one thousand five hundred threescore and —— years. And now her majesty being of the same mind, the better to strengthen his lordship's title, with the advice of the three estates, she had thought proper to ratify these grants in parliament, never to be revoked, *verbo regis*, by her or her successors." *

Next day a more extraordinary scene occurred; for Bothwell, having invited the principal nobility to supper, surrounded the house with an armed force, and compelled them to sign a bond, signifying their approval of his marrying the queen.

On the 21st April Mary went to Stirling, to visit her son; and on her return on the 24th, Bothwell, with an armed party of 800 men, met her at Cramond Brig, and taking her horse by the

* Douglas' Peer.—Maitland's Hist.

bridle, he conveyed her "full gently" to the castle of Dunbar.* The Earl of Huntly, Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melville, were taken captives with the queen, while the rest of her servants were allowed to depart. Sir James Melville informs us that next day, when in Dunbar, he obtained permission to go home. "There," continues he, "the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the queen who would or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not." Captain Blackater, who had taken him, alleged that it was with the queen's own consent.† Crawford justly observes—"The friendly love was so highly contrasted betwixt this great princess and her enormous subject, that there was no end thereof, so that she suffered patiently to be led where the lover list, and neither made obstacle, impediment, clamour, or resistance, as in such accident used to be, which she might have done by her princely authority."‡ "They had scarcely remained ten days in the castle of Dunbar," says Buchanan, "with no great distance between the queen's chamber and Bothwell's, when they thought it expedient to return to the castle of Edinburgh," and the dependants of Bothwell threw

* "Upon the 24. of Apryll, her majestie, upon comeing back from Striveling to Edinburghe, at the bridge of Craumont, the Earll of Bothuell, being well accompanied, raveshett ye queine, and so took her yat same night to ye castell of Dumbar (not against her awen will).

"The 15. of Maii, the queine wes maried to the Duek of Orkney, in the chapell-royall of Holyrudhous, by Adam Bothuel, abbote of Holyrudhous; and hes text wes ye 2nd of Genesis.

"The 11. day Junii, the queine being in Borthwick castell, upon the sudden, certain of the nobility beset the castell round about in arms, very well provydit. The principal of these wer, the Earles of Athol, Glencairn, Morton, Mar, with the Lords of Home, Lindsay, Semple, Ruthven, Sanquhar. The chief of the small barons and gentlemen yat accompanied them, wer Tullibairdin, Drumlanricke, Cessford, Drumquhaill, Coldinknowes, Lochlevin, Ker of Saldomyde, Grange, and the tutor of Pittcur, with divers others. They desyred the Earll Bothuell might be delivered to them; but the Lord Borthuick answered that he wes fled to Dunbar. Thereafter they desyred the queine to come and assist them in persecute of her husband's murtherer, and she althogether refusit.

"The 12. day of Junii the queine and duek rode to Dumbar.—Birrel's Diary.

† Melville's Mem. ‡ Crawford's MS., quoted by Keith, 383.

away their weapons, that they might not be challenged for detaining the queen prisoner.

Finding Mary in accordance with his wishes, Bothwell, on the plea of his having an adulterous connection with his maid, sought to procure a divorce from the elegant and accomplished Lady Jane Gordon, whom he had married only six months before. In the court which sat on the occasion appeared John Manderson, canon of the collegiate church of Dunbar. The clergy granted a divorce on a blind excuse, which had been previously overlooked, viz. consanguinity to his lady, while the laymen granted it on the plea of the before-mentioned adultery. Some demur now took place in publishing the bans of this political marriage, which the conscientious principles of the Rev. John Craig could not overcome. On this occasion Thomas Hepburn, minister of Oldhamstocks, was delegated to enforce the ceremony, but without effect, for it formed the subject of public reprobation, and was demitted. Bnt he who has benefits to confer can easily obviate scruples; and accordingly Bothwell, after being created Duke of Orkney and Shetland, was, on the 15th May 1567, married to Mary, Queen of Scots, in Holyroodhouse, by the bishop of Orkney, amidst very few spectators, while the French ambassador refused to attend.*

The nuptials excited the indignation both of the nation and of foreign courts. A confederacy of nobles met at Stirling, levied troops, and prepared to march against the murderer of their king. The regicide being alarmed, fled with Mary to Borthwick Castle. Lord Home, who with other border chieftains had joined the confederacy, environed the castle; but Bothwell effected his escape, and the queen, disguised as a page, with some difficulty followed him to Dunbar.†

The associated lords, thus disappointed in their enterprise, proceeded to Edinburgh, and issued the following proclamation :—

"12th June 1567.

"That the Earl of Bothwell, having put violent hands on the

* Spottiswood's Hist. † Ibid.

queen's person, and shut her up in the castle of Dunbar; having proceeded to a dishonest marriage with her majesty after obtaining a divorce from his former wife; having already murdered the late king, and now attempting by his gathering together of forces, to murder the young prince also: Therefore, they command all the lieges to be ready on three hours warning to pass forward with them, to deliver the queen's person, and take revenge on the Earl of Bothwell, for ravishing and detaining her majesty; and charge all those who will not assist them, to depart from the town of Edinburgh within four hours, with certification," &c.*

But while the inhabitants of Edinburgh heartily joined in the confederacy, the magistrates and town-council found it convenient to stand aloof, and authorised deputies to wait on the queen.†

Meantime both parties prepared for war, and in a few days after the queen's arrival at Dunbar, 4000 men had flocked to her standard. Confiding in her numbers, Mary left Dunbar with Bothwell on the 14th June, with 200 hakbutters, the flower of her forces, and some field-pieces from the castle; and lodged the first night at Seton.

This news having reached the associated lords, they left Edinburgh early next morning (Sunday), and met the queen's forces at Carberry-Hill, near Musselburgh. Here Bothwell a second time threw the gauntlet down to his accusers: but after the challenge had been for the second time accepted, he refused to fight. The confederates "conquered ere a sword was drawn," and the poor buffeted queen surrendered herself to the laird of Grange, whilst the guilty Bothwell retraced his steps in a solitary flight to Dunbar.‡

Mary has been censured by her friends for leaving Dunbar so speedily. "This fort," says Keith, "the lords could not have taken without ammunition and warlike engines, with which they were not provided, and for want of which each was on the point of dismissing and shifting for himself."

* Keith's Hist. † Ibid. ‡ Spottiswood, 207.

The queen was led to Edinburgh the same day, and obliged to submit to the indecent aspersions of a heated populace. Still glued to her fate, she repented at having so hastily surrendered; and found means to bribe one of the guards to get a letter conveyed to Bothwell. This, however, the soldier delivered to the lords, who, finding that her majesty still doted on her outlawed husband, judged it necessary for the peace of the nation, that she should be sent to repent of her folly in the picturesque solitudes of Lochleven Castle, while active measures were taken for the apprehension of her lord.*

Accordingly, on the 26th June, the lords of council ordained "letters to be directed in the queen's name, to heralds, &c., to pass and charge the keeper of the castle of Dunbar to surrender the same to the executor of the said letters in six hours; because the Earl of Bothwell was reset and received within the said castle.†

Bothwell, afraid that he might be environed in Dunbar, fled by sea to Orkney, where he intended to defend himself in the castle of Kirkwall; but the keeper refused to admit him. After having eluded the vigilance of some vessels sent in pursuit of him, he was taken by a crew of Norwegians, while endeavouring to make prize of a Turkish vessel, and carried to Denmark. Here he paid the price of his crimes by languishing out the remainder of his days in a loathsome dungeon, confessing his guilt in his last moments, and exculpating Mary from being privy to her husband's murder.‡

After an unsuccessful negotiation with Throckmorton, the English ambassador, in August 1567, the confederated lords had reason to apprehend that Elizabeth would show her resentment by the force of war.

Dunbar Castle, besides protecting one Wilson, a convicted regicide, still held out for the Duke of Orkney. The keepers at this period were Patrick Whitlaw, of Whitlaw, John Newton,

* Keith's Hist. † Melville's Mem. ‡ Ibid.

junior, of Newton, and Mr Thomas Hepburn, minister of Oldhamstocks.

The regent knew that it was of the first importance to get this fortress into his possession; and accordingly, on the 26th August, the same year, an order was issued for "letteris to be directed to command and charge James Erle of Bothwell, Patrick Quhytlaw of that ilk, Johne Newtoun, zounger of that ilk, Mr Thomas Hepburne, parson of Aldhamstocks, and all utheris keiparis of the castell of Dunbar, to render and deliver the same, with all artaillierie, pulder, and munitionis, being thairin, to the to the officiaris executoris heirof, within sex houris after the charge, with certification of forfaulter, &c., as traittoures in case of refusal." *

The same persons were likewise charged to deliver, before the justice and his deputies, with the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in the space of twenty-four hours after the charge, "the person of Patrick Wilson, who had been declarit traittour, and art and part in the kingis murthour, under the pain to be repute, haldin, callit, persewit, and denunceit as plane partakaris with the said Patrick in his rebellioun and treassonabill deids, and to be puneist thairfoir with rigour, in exempill of utheris." †

Notwithstanding this charge for the surrender of Dunbar Castle, the keepers were determined to hazard a siege; and on the 21st September 1567, four companies of soldiers, under Captains Cunyngham, Murray, Melvil, and Haliburton, were sent to take Dunbar; ‡ and by an order of the privy council, issued on the 23d, "the brewsters, baxters, and fleschers of the town of Haddington" are charged "to pass and gang forwart with bakin bread, brewin aill, and flesche, to furnische the camp lyand at the siege of Dunbar Castell, at competent pryces, under the payne to be repuit assistaris of the rebellis: And charging the provost and bailzies of Haddington to see the said breid, aill, and flesche, furnished to the said camp, as thai will answer upoun thair obedience, and under the payne foirsaid." §

* Keith's Hist. † Ibid. ‡ Birrell's Diary. § Keith's Hist.

As the estates of Bothwell lay in the bosom of East Lothian, he had many friends and adherents in that district. Accordingly, while the siege proceeded, the noblemen and gentlemen who were in the interest of the queen, or friends to the duke, were commanded, on pain of confiscation, to submit to the new regency. Some readily obeyed, while others were denounced rebels, and their property confiscated.

After these precautionary arrangements, the castle of Dunbar was summoned to surrender; but the usual answer of that haughty fortress was given, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. Another proclamation was therefore issued by the Regent Murray, on the 1st September, commanding all men betwixt sixteen and sixty, "weill bodin in feir of weir," to meet him at Edinburgh; and on the 26th September four of the best double cannon, and six smaller pieces, with powder and bullets, and other provisions, were sent from Edinburgh, to assist in reducing Dunbar; and the next day the lord regent with his company followed.

Despairing of support, the captain of Dunbar, when he saw these resolute measures adopted, surrendered to the regent on the 1st of October. On the submission of this important fortress, the Earl of Morton, the Lords Hume and Lindsay, and several others, applied for its keeping. But it had been so often a weapon in the hands of the border lords that the regent, by removing the artillery and ammunition to Edinburgh, wisely gave offence to no party, and committed this stronghold to the custody of the town of Dunbar till the meeting of parliament.*

Matters were now arranged in a peaceable manner, and Sir William Cecil, in a letter to Sir Henry Norris, the English ambassador in France, writes—"All things be quiet in Scotland since the last of September, at which time the castle of Dunbar was surrendered to the Earl of Murray; and one named the Lord Waughton, follower of the Earl of Bothwell, which kept

* Calderwood's MS. and Crawford's MS. agree that all the cannon and guns therein competent were carried to the castle of Edinburgh.

the castle as long as he could, was adjudged to pay for the charges of them which besieged it, and the charge of the carriage of the ordnance back to Edinburgh—a new kind of punishment sufficient enough for such a beggar." * So writes Sir William Cecil; but the Laird of Waughton (Hepburn) was no beggar in one sense, if he paid the charge of those engaged in the siege.

On the 3rd January following, the regent ordered the execution of four persons who were convicted of assisting in the murder of Darnley. These were Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and William Powry and George Dalgliesh. John Hepburn, at his examination on the 8th December, confessed that the greater part of the powder was brought from Dunbar.†

On the meeting of parliament, December 1567, the castle of Dunbar, which had been so often the asylum of the unfortunate and the guilty, was ordered to be destroyed. In act 35, parl. 1, James VI., we find the following item :—"Forsamekle as thair hes bene of befoir divers large and sumpteous expensis maid be our soverane Lordis predecessouris and himself, in keiping, fortifying, and reparatioun of the castell of Dunbar and forth of Inchekeith, quhilkis ar baith unprofitabill to the realme, and not abill to defend the enemies thairof, in cais the samin war assaultit: and now seeing that the said castell and forth ar baith becumin sa ruinous, that the samin sall all utterlie decay, except thair be sic expensis maid thairupon as is unhabill to be performit without greit inconveniences; and alswa havand consideratioun of ane act of parliament maid in umquhile our soverane Lords grandschiris tyme, King James the Feird, of maist worthie memorie, ordinand the said castell of Dunbar to be demolischit and cassin downe, as in the act maid thairupon at mair lenth is contenit, quhilk act as zit is not abrogat. Thairfoir our soverane Lord, with avise and consent of my Lord Regent, and the estatis of this present parliament, hes ordainit, and ordainis, that the castell of Dunbar and the forth of Inchekeith be demolischit and cassin

* Keith's Hist. † Anderson's Coll. ii. 173.

downe utterlie to the ground, and distroyit in sic wyse that na foundment thairof be occasioun to big thairupon in tyme cumming." *

Some months elapsed before this act was carried into execution; for after the escape of Mary from Lochleven, an attempt was made by the relation of Bothwell, John Hepburn, the parson of Oldhamstocks, once more to regain Dunbar for the queen. Sir William Drury thus acquaints Cecil with the transaction :—

"6th March 1568.—Upon Monday, Dunbar had like to have been surprised; for at one instant there arrived into the town the parson of Auld-Hamstock with a xx., and as many sent from the Lord Hume; but the town more affected to the Lord Hume, increased his strength so much, that the parson desisted from his enterprise, and so returned."

Thus fell that venerable fortress, which had so often "laughed a siege to scorn," after it had sustained the brunt of war and the ravages of the storm for seven hundred and sixty-seven years of authenticated history.

"In 1581, among several grants excepted by James VI. from the general revocation of his deeds of gift made through importunity, mention is made of the 'forthe of Dunbar granted to William Boncle, burgess of Dunbar.' This probably referred to the site of the fortress, and perhaps some ground adjacent." †

The earldom of March was conferred on Robert Stuart, granduncle of James VI., on his resigning the earldom of Lennox to his nephew, Esme Stuart of Aubigny; and he had a charter of the earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar, 25th of October 1582, erecting the same of new into an earldom. Dying without issue, the title again reverted to the crown. Lord William Douglas, second son of William, first Duke of Queensberry, was created Earl of March in 1697; his grandson William, third Earl of March, succeeded as fourth Duke of Queensberry in 1778; but dying without issue in 1810, the Earl of Wemyss

* Keith's Appendix, 155. † Provincial Ant. ii.

succeeded to the title of Earl of March, along with an extensive range of property in Peeblesshire.

With the fall of the castle, the ancient military history of Dunbar is at a close. After the union of the kingdoms there was a repose from the miseries of war, and the glorious work of reformation from popery next engaged the attention of the people. This was followed by the virulence of sects or parties, and "pulpit drum ecclesiastic, was beat with fist instead of a stick."

Dunbar could take little part in these quarrels; but in the winter of 1588, when the popish lords had leagued with the Spaniards, the inhabitants felt the natural alarm, then spread throughout the country, lest the Spanish Armada might land on their shores. The elements, however, happily prevented this.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude;
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Dunbar's field resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's wreathe. Yet much remains
To conquer still. Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war: new foes arise,
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains."—MILTON.

Colonel Cromwell, already famous for various daring exploits, as skillfully planned and as ably executed, exercised over the minds of many men of bold spirit, enthusiastic piety, and of a condition at once wealthy and obscure, an influence which had given proofs of great genius and great power.—GUIZOT'S HIST. OF ENGLISH REFORMATION.

### OLIVER CROMWELL.—BATTLE OF DOONHILL.—PASSAGE OF THE PEASE BRIDGE.—GENERAL MONK.

THE man whom Milton eulogised, and of whom Waller sung,* must have been a talented personage; and of him we have now to speak. On the commonwealth of England, which now held the reins of government, receiving intelligence that the sons of Charles I. had taken refuge among the Scots, preparations were made for an inevitable war; and Oliver Cromwell, a gentleman of a good private family, who by his talents and intrigues had gained the sway of the parliament, was sent into Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

* Waller, the celebrated English poet, composed in excellent Latin verse a panageric upon Cromwell during his protectorate. Charles II. being restored in 1660, Waller presented some verses to the king he had composed in his praise. Charles, after reading them, told him he (the poet) had composed better verses in praise of Cromwell. "Sire," replied Waller, "we poets always succeed better in fiction than in truth!"

On Friday, the 26th July 1650, he marched from Cockburnspath to Dunbar, which he found the principal inhabitants had abandoned, and none between the ages of seven or seventy remained: everything in the shape of leaf or ear, root or branch, was removed. The murderous proceedings of the English in Ireland had inspired the people with terror; and it was believed that it was their intention to cut off the right hands of all Scotsmen capable of bearing arms, and burn with hot irons the breasts of all women capable of bearing children.*

On the arrival of the English, an alarm being given that the Scots were approaching, they drew up in a field near the town. This alarm, however, proved false, and next day the Amity and other ships arriving from Newcastle with a supply of provisions, the Protector departed to Haddington.

The command of the Scottish army in the meantime had devolved upon Leslie, an experienced officer, who had entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith; and as it was his policy to remove from the Merse and Lothian everything which might serve for subsistence to the invaders, Cromwell found himself straitened for want of provisions, and on the 6th August he had again to return to Dunbar, where on the 17th his army received a supply of tents and provisions from the ships. He now found the people in such a deplorable state from starvation, that the iron front of war was smoothed, and the commissioners were ordered to distribute pease and wheat to the value of L.240 among the inhabitants.† Two days were then

* Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs, p. 452.

† "The inhabitants of Dunbar," says Whitelock, "were in such want of provisions, that they picked the beans from the horses off the ground, and ate the sheeps' guts which were thrown away by the soldiers; and many of the women of the countrymen are so sluttish, that they do not wash their linen above once a-month, nor their hands and faces above once a-year."

We scarcely think that the Englishman had time to prove the last assertion. The Scots had no doubt received the same hint that Leslie gave to the household troops at Musselburgh—"That the gude women of the town should aw come awa with their gear, and not stay to brew or bake for the English army, on pain of death.

spent in prayers and exhortations to the army, after which they advanced to Edinburgh.

Cromwell endeavoured in vain to draw Leslie from a strong position he occupied near Arthur's Seat, and having shipped his sick at Musselburgh, he retreated to Haddington, while the Scots hung on his right flank. "Here we staid," says Captain John Hodgson, "till about ten o'clock, when after prayer had been made in several regiments, we marched, a poor, shattered, hungry, discouraged army," to Dunbar. This place they entered on Sunday the 1st September.

Cromwell drew up in a field near Dunbar, "full of swamps and bogs," while the Scots flanked him on the hills on the right. Their army was computed at 27,000 men, and that of the English at 12,000.

Threatened with famine, he was on the eve of sending his foot and artillery by sea to England, and of breaking through the Scots party on the borders at all hazards with his cavalry, when he was spared this disgrace by the wild enthusiasm of the clergy, who, like those of Switzerland at the battle of Sempach, had joined the patriotic standard. The Scots army, instead of being under the control of its general, was regulated by a committee of these enthusiasts; and afterwards, amongst Cromwell's prisoners, we find Gallespy and Wargle, ministers.* These worthies having cleared the army of about four thousand profane persons and Sabbath-breakers, believed that there remained a remnant of invincible saints. Night and day had they been wrestling with the Lord in prayer; and revelations, they imagined, had been made to them, foretelling that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Cromwell, the modern Agag, should be delivered into their hands.

Leslie had encamped in an admirable position on the top of Doonhill, an eminence four or five hundred feet high, about two

* A Scots captain taken prisoner, told the English officers that their ministers advised them, if they were taken, that they should throw away their Bibles; for if the English took any with Bibles, they should have no quarter.—Whitelock's Mem.

miles south from Dunbar; * and while from its summit he had an excellent opportunity of observing the motions of the enemy, the gentle declivities of the Lammermoors immediately behind it, were admirably fitted to conceal and shelter the army. He had also taken care to possess himself of the pass of Pease, the only road which led from Dunbar to Berwick. But the indiscreet zeal of his pious partisans, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the general, compelled him to descend, and gave battle to the enemy.†

On Monday evening, Leslie increased his right wing of horse with two-thirds of his left, and edged down towards the sea, while his infantry and artillery inclined to the right. When Cromwell observed this movement, he ordered three regiments and a half of foot to march to the van, whilst the brigade under Colonel Monk, and that under Colonels Pride and Overton, with the two remaining regiments of horse, brought up the cannon and rear. They however stood in battalia all the day. A great ditch or ravine, formed by Spott water, from Brands-mill westward, lay between both armies, offering much disadvantage to those who should first attempt to pass it. During the night the English drew as close to the ravine as possible, with their field-pieces planted in each regiment. Before dawn on Tuesday the 3rd September, Cromwell despatched three regiments of horse

* On the south-east summit of Doonhill, is the supposed remains of a Roman camp, now ploughed up, the tumuli and trenches of which are still visible. A little above Spott-moor is another camp, from which perhaps the neighbouring hill of Chesters (Ceasters) gets its name, as that term in the Anglo-Saxon signifies a fort or castle.

† It is said that Leslie's officers were averse to fight, and proposed rather to make a bridge of gold for them to pass home; but the clergy over-ruled it.—Whitelock's Mem.

John Roy, who visited Scotland in 1661, says in his Itinerary—"They had at out-going there two ministers in Dunbar; they sang their *gloria patri* at the end of the psalm, after the sermon, as had been ordered by the parliament, in these words:—

Glore to the Father and the Sonne,
And to the Holy Gheast:
As it was in the beginning,
Is now, and aye doth last."

and two of foot, to force the pass of Pease, whereby they might the more readily get round upon the Scots. This dispute was effected in about an hour. At sun-rise the Protector, standing on a gentle eminence east from Broxmouth House, still called Cromwell Mount, reconnoitred with his telescope the Scots camp in motion. "They are coming down," he exclaimed, "the Lord hath delivered them into our hands!"

Both armies had now assumed the canting style of the times. The watchword of the Scots was, "The Covenant;" that of the English, "The Lord of Hosts."

About six o'clock the battle became general. The Scottish lancers coming gallantly down the hill, were as bravely repulsed. Two regiments of the English foot deployed below Broxmouth House towards the sea, and fell upon the Scottish flank, at the eastern extremity of their line, with pike and musket. This attack was well sustained, till a troop of the enemy's horse coming up, cut the Scots down in all quarters, and left them to the mercy of the infantry. The Scots now began to fall back, and the sun shining full on their faces as it rose from the sea, Cromwell seized the lucky moment, and exclaimed, "Now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered." His iron brigade making a successful charge up the hill, the Scottish foot threw down their arms, and fled in every direction, some towards Cockburnspath and others to Haddington, whether they were pursued. Never was victory more complete: the fugitives now became, as Cromwell observed, "as stubble to their swords." About 3000 were slain, and 9000 taken prisoners.* Their whole train was taken, consisting of thirty-two pieces of ordnance, with small, great, and leather guns; two hundred colours, horse and foot, with arms, tents, baggage, &c. The loss of the English was so trifling as to be almost incredible—it was stated at forty men in the whole engagement, and not one officer, except M.

* Many of the killed are said to have been buried in and about Spottdean. Muskets, bullets, swords, human bones, pieces of scarlet cloth, &c., were sometimes found in the neighbourhood.

Rokesby, who died of his wounds; but from the resolute attack of the Scots at the onset, the small loss of the English is justly doubted.*

Many men of distinction fell in this fatal conflict, amongst whom were the Homes of Wedderburn, father and son, and Sir William Douglas of Kirkness, who appears to have fallen at Broxmouth, as a plain stone, bearing his name in legible characters, lies in the shrubbery south-east from the house. Amongst the prisoners were twelve lieutenant-colonels, six majors, thirty-seven captains, &c. Cromwell's first act after the battle was to return thanks to the Almighty for the victory he had gained; and, as if anxious to refute the odium of cruelty imputed to him, sent back the principal prisoners in his own coach, and the wounded in waggons. It is further asserted by Walker, that after the battle of Dunbar he sent "a thousand of the wounded men in a gallantry to the Countess of Winton."

The following proclamation was issued by the conqueror, respecting the wounded left in the field :—

"Forasmuch as I understand that there are several soldiers of the enemy's army yet abiding in the field, who, by reason of their wounds, could not march from thence: these are therefore to give notice to the inhabitants of this nation, that they may have free liberty to repair to the field aforesaid, and with their carts, or any other peaceable way, to carry the said soldiers to such places as they shall think fit, provided they meddle not, or

* According to Whitelock, "at the battle of Dunbar 15,000 were killed and taken. Of these the general sent home upon their parole 5000 of the prisoners, being wounded old men and boys; the men house-keepers, forced out of their houses to take arms, and 2100 of them died by the way. The other 5000 were sent prisoners to Berwick, and so to Newcastle."

"The Governor of Berwick gave to each Scotch prisoner for one day three biskits, and a pottle of pease, which they said was more than their own officers gave them three days together.

"November 11. The Scots prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar, at their first coming to Newcastle, got into the gardens, and fed so greedily upon the raw cabbages, that they poisoned their bodies. Sixteen hundred of them died, 500 more were sick, and 900, in health, were sent to work there."—Whitelock's Mem.

take away any of the arms there; and all officers and soldiers are to take notice that the same is permitted. Given under my hand at Dunbar.

"O. CROMWELL.

"September 4, 1650."

The parliament ordered that the colours taken at the battles of Preston and Dunbar should be hung up in Westminster Hall, and that medals of gold and silver should be given to the soldiery, in remembrance of God's mercy, and of their valour and victory.

Cromwell spent the next day at Dunbar in writing letters to the House of Commons, detailing the victory, which will be found in Note I., at the end of this chapter. It has been remarked that his principal victories at Dunbar and Worcester happened on the 3d of September, and, finally, his death on that day.

After Cromwell was promoted to the Protectorship, Monk, who distinguished himself as one who led the van at the late battle, was appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, and one of the commissioners for uniting that country with the commonwealth. He took up his residence at Dalkeith, and remained there chiefly during the years that intervened between that period and the restoration, during which time a number of letters passed between him and the magistrates of Dunbar, regarding the assessments levied on the burgh. This correspondence is preserved in the archives of that place, and will be found in Note II. appended to this chapter.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XIII.

### NOTE I.

*A Letter from the* LORD GENERAL CROMWELL, *from Dunbar, containing a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Parliament Army under his command in Scotland, and the success God was pleased to give them against the Scots army, in a Battle at Dunbar, Sept.* 3, 1650.

"FOR THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM LEUTHAL, ESQ., SPEAKER OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

"SIR,—I hope it is not ill taken, that I make no more frequent addresses to the parliament; things that are of trouble, in point of provision for your army, and of ordinary direction, I have, as I could, often presented to the councel of state, together with such occurrences as have happened; who, I am sure, as they have not been wanting in their extraordinary care and provision for us, so neither what they judge fit and necessary, to represent the same to you; and this I thought to be a sufficient discharge of my duty on that behalf.

"It hath now pleased God to bestow a mercy upon you, worthy your knowledge, and of the utmost praise and thanks of all that fear and love his name; yea, the mercy is far above all praise, which, that you may the better perceive, I shall take the boldness to tender unto you some circumstances accompanying this great business, which will manifest the greatness and seasonableness of this mercy. We having tryed what we could to engage the enemy three or four miles west of Edinburgh; that proving ineffectual, and our victual failing, we marched towards our ships for a recruit of our wants. The enemy did not at all trouble us in our rear, but marched the direct way towards Edinburgh, and partly in the night and morning, slips through his whole army, and quarters himself in a posture easie to interpose between us and our victual; but the Lord made him lose

the opportunity, and the morning proving exceeding wet and dark, we recovered, by that time it was light, into a ground where they could not hinder us from our victual; which was a high act of the Lord's providence to us. We being come into the said ground, the enemy marched into the ground we were last upon; having no mind either to strive to interpose between us and our victual, or to fight; being indeed upon this lock, hoping that the sickness of your army would render their work more easie by the gaining of time; whereupon we marched to Muscleburgh to victual and to ship away our sick men, where we sent aboard near five hundred sick and wounded soldiers: and upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the enemy lying upon his advantages, at a general councel it was thought fit to march to Dunbar, and there to fortifie the town, which, we thought, if any thing, would provoke them to engage; as also, the having a garrison there, would furnish us with accommodation for our sick men; would be a place for a good magazin (which we exceedingly wanted), being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done, though the being of the whole army lay upon it; all the coasts from Leith to Berwick not having one good harbor; as also to lie more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick. Having these considerations, upon Saturday, the thirtieth day of August, we marched from Muscleburgh to Heddington, where, by that time, we had got the van brigade of our horse, and our foot and train, into their quarters; the enemy was marched with that exceeding expedition, that they fell upon the rear-forlorn of our horse, and put it in some disorder; and indeed had like to have engaged our rear-brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord, by his providence, put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the army, which accordingly was done without any loss, save of three or four of our fore-mentioned forlorn, wherein the enemy (as we believe) received more loss. The army being put into a reasonable secure posture, towards midnight the enemy attempted our quarters on the west end of Heddington, but (through the goodness of God) we repulsed them. The next morning we drew into an open field, on the south side of Heddington; we not judging it safe for us to draw to the enemy upon his own ground, he being prepossessed thereof, but rather drew back to

give him way to come to us, if he had so thought fit; and having waited about the space of four or five hours, to see if he would come to us, and not finding any inclination of the enemy so to do, we resolved to go, according to our first intendment, to Dunbar. By that time we had marched three or four miles, we saw some bodies of the enemies horse draw out of their quarters; and by that time our carriages were gotten neer Dunbar, their whole army was upon their march after us; and, indeed, our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy. The enemy that night, we perceived, gathered towards the hills, laboring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick; and having, in this posture, a great advantage, through his greater knowledg of the country, which he effected, by sending a considerable party to the strait pass at Copperspeth, where ten men to hinder, are better than forty to make their way: and truly this was an exigent to us, wherewith the enemy reproached us with that condition the parliament's army was in, when it made its hard conditions with the king in Cornwal. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us, and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons, and had swallowed up the poor interest of England, believing that their army and their king would have marched to London without any interruption; it being told us, we know not how truly, by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, *that their king was very suddenly to come amongst them with those English they allowed to be about him;* but in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them.

"The enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having those advantages, we lay very neer him, being sensible of our disadvantage, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself, to our weak faith, wherein, I beleeve, not a few amongst us shared, that, because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen, and that he would finde out a way of deliverance and salvation for us; and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes. Upon Monday evening, the enemy, whose numbers were very great, as we heard, about six thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot, at least; ours drawn down, as to sound men, to about

seven thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand five hundred horse; the enemy drew down to their right wing about two-thirds of their left wing of horse, to the right wing, shogging also their foot and train much to the right, causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine, but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves into a more exact position of interposition. Major-general and myself coming to the Earl of Roxburgh's house, and observing this posture, I told him, I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the enemy; to which he immediately replyed, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me: so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both of our hearts at the same instant. We called for Colonel Monk, and shewed him the thing; and coming to our quarter at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the colonels, they also cheerfully concurred; we resolved, therefore, to put our business into this posture, that six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot should march in the van; and that the major-general, the lieutenant-general of the horse, and the commissary-general, and Col. Monk, to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business; and that Colonel Pride's brigade, Colonel Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse, should bring up the cannon and rere; the time of falling on to be by break of day; but, through some delays, it proved not to be so till six o'clock in the morning. The enemies word was 'The Covenant,' which it had been for divers days; ours, 'The Lord of Hosts.' The major-general, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whaley, and Colonel Twisletons, gave the onset; the enemy being in very good posture to receive them, having the advantage of their cannon and foot against our horse. Before our foot could come up, the enemy made a gallant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute at swords point between our horse and theirs: Our first foot, after they had discharged their duty, being overpowered with the enemy, received some repulse, which they soon recovered; but my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goff, and my Major White, did come seasonably in; and at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, meerly with the courage the Lord was pleased to give; which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot. This being the first

action between the foot, the horse, in the mean time, did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all opposition, charging through the bodies of the enemies horse and their foot, who were, after the first repulse given, made, by the Lord of Hosts, as stubble to their swords. Indeed, I believe, I may speak it without partiality, both your chief commanders, and others, in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this war. I know they look on to be named; and therefore I forbear particulars. The best of the enemies horse and foot being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout; our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe, that upon the place and near about it, were about three thousand slain. Prisoners taken of their officers, you have this enclosed list; of private soldiers, near ten thousand. The whole baggage and train taken; wherein was good store of match, powder, and bullet; all their artillery, great and small, thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them not less than fifteen thousand arms. I have already brought into me near two hundred colours, which I herewith send you. What officers of quality of theirs are killed, we yet cannot learn; but yet surely divers are, and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Colonel Lumsdel, the Lord Liberton, and others; and that, which is no small addition, I do not believe we have lost twenty men; not one commissioned officer slain that I hear of, save one cornet, and Major Rooksby, since dead of his wounds; and not many mortally wounded. Colonel Whaley only cut in the hand-wrist, and his horse twice shot and killed under him, but he well, recovered another horse, and went on in the chase. Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and his people this war. And now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words: It is easie to say, the Lord hath done this; it would do you good to see and hear our poor foot go up and down making their boast of God. But, sir, it is in your hands, and by these eminent mercies God puts it more into your hands to give glory to him, to improve your power and His blessings to His praise. We that serve you, beg of you not to own us, but God alone; we pray you own His people more and more, for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel: disown yourselves, but own

your authority, and improve it, to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquility of England, though under what specious pretences soever. Relieve the oppressed; hear the groans of poor prisoners in England; be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions; and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth. If He, that strengthens your servants to fight, pleases to give you hearts to set upon these things, in order to His glory, and the glory of your commonwealth, besides the benefit of England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a patern, and through the power of God, turn into the like. These are our desires; and, that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things, and not be hindred, we have been, and shall be (by God's assistance) willing to venture our lives, and not desire you should be precipitated by importunities from your care of safety and preservation; but that the doing of these good things may have their place amongst those which concern well being, and so be wrought in their time and order. Since we came into Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business, by reason that God hath a people here fearing His name, though deceived; and to that end have we offered much love unto such in the bowels of Christ; and concerning the truth of our hearts therein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers of Scotland have hindred the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them; and now we hear, that, not onely the deceived people, but some of the ministers, are also fallen in this battel. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who, taking into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd; to wit, meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they called the kingdom of Christ; which is neither it, nor, if it were it, would such means be found effectual to that end, and neglect, or trust not to the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that kingdom; and when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it. This is humbly offered for their sakes; who, having lately too much turned aside, that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the gospel; and then, no doubt, they will discern and finde your

protection and encouragement. Beseeching you to pardon this length, I humbly take leave, and rest, Sir, your most humble servant,

"O. CROMWELL.

"DUNBAR, September 4, 1650."

The following letter, written by Cromwell to his lady, is copied from the MS. collections in the British Museum:—

"DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

"MY DEAREST,—I have not leisure to write much, but I could chide thee, that in many of thy letters thou writest to me, that I should not be unmindful of thee and my little ones. Truly, if I love you not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice. The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy. Who can tell how great it is? My weak faith hath been upheld. I have been in my inward man miraculously supported. I assure thee I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease. Pray on my behalf in the latter respect. The particulars of our late success, Henry Vane or Gil. Pickering will impart to thee. My love to all our dear friends. Thine,

"O. CROMWELL."

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## NOTE II.

*Letters, addressed by General Monk and others, to the Magistrates of Dunbar, during the time of the Commonwealth.*

### I.—FROM JO. VINCENT, CONCERNING A LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL AND HIS COUNCIL.

*"These, for the honble the Cheife Magistrates of the Towne of Dunbar in Scotland.*

"HONBLE SIR,—I am very sensible of the disappointment which it may be to you, that this has not reached you sooner; but truely the great affaire, which hath beene long upon the wheell, and before his highnesse, hath caused all matters of inferiour and private concernement to be att a stand for these late moneths: According to my promise to Doctor Purveys (our

honrd friend, and one very zealous for your good), I have now sent the letter from his Highnesse and ye Councill to the Doctor to be conveyed safely to you, which he was pleased to undertake. Gents., I beg of you a candid construction of my indeavours to serve you, though attended with this blemish of a delay, yet have they beene very reall from, Sir, your very respective friend to serve you,

"Jo. Vincent.

"Doncaster, June 2, 1657."

"I purpose to goe towards London to-morrow."

II.—FROM GENERAL MONK, RESPECTING TAXES.

"*To the Comissioners of Assesse in the burgh of Dunbar.*

("For the service of the state.)

"Gentlemen,—His highness and the Councill being sensible of the urgent necessity of bringing in of money for the present affaires of ye comonwealth, have sent their letters to ye comissioners for the assessement in the severall counties of England to meete in order to the raising of ye six monthes assessement, beginning from the 24th June next, and appoint their generall meetinge at such convenient times, and that they soe proceed as that the assessement for the first three monthes of that six monthes, which, by the act, is payable on or before the first of September next, be paid in to the respective receiuers on or before the sixth day of July, and ye latter three monthes assesse payable by the said act, on or before the first of December next, be paid in to the respective receiuers on or before the sixth of October next, to the end there may be a seasonable supply for the pressing occasions of the Comonwealth and of the Armies, which will otherwise unavoidably come to free quarter: And therefore his Highnes and the Councill have thought fitt to require his Highnes' Councill heere to write the like letters unto the comissioners in their respective shyres, counties, and places in Scotland to the same effect. In pursuance whereof, his Highnes Councill heere have thought fitt to signify the premises unto yow, the comissioners for assessement in the burgh of Dunbarr; And to desire yow, that yow also meete in order to the raising of the six monthes assessement, beginning from 24. June next, and appoint your meetings at such convenient times, and that

yow soe proceed, as that the assessement for the first three monthes of those six monthes in the said burgh, which, by the act, is payable on the first of September next, be paid into the receiuer on or before the sixth day of July next, and the latter three monthes, payable by the said act on or before the first of December next, be paid in to the receiuer, on or before the sixth of October next; to the end there may be a seasonable supply for the pressing occasions of the Comonwealth, and of the Armies, which will otherwise unavoidably come to free quarter; And although this be but the same tax that is laid by the act, yet the timely payment thereof will prevent many inconveniences, and be of great advantage to the publick service, which they desire yow to doe your utmost to promote heerein, by the causeing those six monthes assessement of ye burgh to be paid in att ye times aforesaid; And the said Councill heere doe further desire yow, to give them an accompt of your receipt heereof, and of your resolutions thereupon, as speedily as you can.

"(Signed in ye name, and by order of the Councill),

"GEORGE MONCK.

"EDINH. 11. May, 1658."

III.—FROM SIR A. DON.

"MUTCH HONNORED FREINDS,—Acording to the command laid upon me by his hienes Counsell, and the wreattes issued out for that effect, be pleasit to resaue heirwith inclosit this precept whiche I desyre yee may cause be proclaimit at your mercatt-croce the first mercat day efter the resaitte heirof, and that your burgesses may attend the meiting therby appoynted, the day and plaice therein mentionate for the endes therein exprest. And that yee will returne to me this precept dewlie execute and indorsate. The cairfull performance qrof is expectit by, your affectionat freind and servand,

"A. DON.

"NEWTOWNE, 25. Dec. 1658.

"*For my honnored freinds the Bailzies of Dumbar.*"

IV.—FROM SIR WILLIAM SETON.

"MUTCH HONNORED AND WORTHIE FRINDIS,—Our toune heath resseaued ane letter from my Lord Generall, recommending to use our Parliament man. He makis mentioune of one

doctor Thomas Clairgis, only brother to his Lady, a man that heath doune great seruise to the toune of Edmbrouche. Hie is agent for the Counsell of England and Scotland; with all, my Lord wrytis to use, that hie, a gentleman that will not be chargable to us. It is my Lords dissyre to uss to gife zou notis of this gentellman which his Lo: heath recommendit. Our commissinar will attend upone zouris Monday in the morning or at nicht, that upone Tuesday thay may goe away airly. This letter of my Lord Generalis is to be carried allong to the rest of the burrose. This is the substanse of the letter that is writtine to zou by him.

"Who is zour werry affectionat frind & seruant,

"W. SEATOUNE.

"HADDINGTOUNE, the 31. of December, 1658.

"*For my honored frindis the Byllis of Dunbar.*"

### V.—FROM GENERAL MONK, RESPECTING ASSESSMENT.

"*For my very loving Freinds, the Magistrates of the burgh of Dunbarre.*

"GENTLEMEN,—Haveing a call from God and his people to march into England, to assert and maintaine the liberty and being of Parliaments, our antient constitution, and therein the freedome and rights of the people of these three nations, from arbitrary and tyrannicall usurpations upon thair cons ciences, persons and estates, and for a godly ministry, I doe theirfor exspect from yow, the Magistrates of ye burgh of Dunbarre, that yow do preserve the peace of the comonwealth in your burgh. And I heerby authorize yow to suppresse all tumults, stirrings, and unlawful assemblies; and that you hold noe correspondency with any of Charles Stuarts party or his adherents, but apprehend any such as shall make any disturbanse, and send them into the next guarrison; And doe further desire yow to countenance and incourage the godly ministry, and all that truely feare God in the land; and that you continue faithfull to owne and assert the interest of Parliamentary government in your severall places and stations. I hope my absence will bee very short; but I doe assure you, that I will procure from the Parliament, whatever may bee for the good government and releife of this nation, and doubt not but to obtaine abaitements on your assesse and other publique burthens according to the proportion

of England; and further service I may bee able. I shall not bee wanting in what may promote the happiness and peace of this afflicted people. I shall not trouble yow further, but begg your prayers, and desire yow to assure yourselves, that I am, your faithfull freind and humble servant.

"EDINBURGH, November, 1659.

"I desire yow to send me word to Barwick under your hands how farr yow will comply with my desires, by the 12th of December next.

"I desire yow, that what is behind, of the last foure monthes of ye twelve monthes assesse may bee in a readiness against it is called for. I likewise desire that their may bee particular notice given, that such as are not free to concurr with yow in this businesse, yow will send me their names."

The above letter has no signature. It is written verbatim with one sent to North Berwick, of the same date, to which General Monk's name is appended.

VI.—ENDORSED "COPY, LETTER, GENERAL MONK TO THE LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, FOR SETTING WATCHES UPON THE BORDERS.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I have receaved your opinione by some of your number, and doe take notice of your great respect to me, that you are pleased to have such a sense of my endeavours in preserving the peace of this countrey; for which I desyre to signefie to your Lordships, gentilmen, and burgesses, my verrie affectioned and heartie thanks.

"I doe farder tak notice off your good affectiones to the Parliament of England, and your resolutiones to preserve the peace and saiftie of this countrey, in caise God sall be pleased to call us to the assistance of our freinds in England. And I doe farder assure yow, for this your great service to the commonewealth of England, at such ane tyme of hazard and danger, that I will make good to the uttermost off my power my former promises, and vse all meines for the ease and relcife of this afflicted natione, for giveing yow anie farder power than I have done in my letter, to prevent or suppresse any tumults or stirrupes, I

have not had tyme to considder ane better way at present; bot at your nixt returne from your severall shyres and burghes, by the twelt day of December, I sall then think upon the best way to enable yow to secure the peace of the countrey.

"As to the appoynting of waitches upon the countrayes nixt to the hylands, or upon the borders, if you please to give me ane not what shyres will joyne togither for the manteaning of ane watch, and the number of men to be imployed, and of ane fit persone or persones to comand them; I shall then give him or them power to have soe manie men vnder his or their comands for the protecting of these shyres and pairts from robbers; and that these shyres who have watches for there securetie doe give ingadgement vnder ther hands for such men that doe comand or ar comandit, that they sall act nothing against the Parliament or commonewealth of England.

(No Signature.)

"Edin. 17th Nov. 1659.

VII.—FROM GENERAL MONK.

"*For the Magistrates of Dunbarre.*

"Gentlemen,—I have received your petition, and am heartily sorry that I can give you noe relief concerning your desire; butt when the commissioners come downe, I shall be glad to further your businesse there as much as lies in mee, which is all I can doe in your businesse, but remayne, your very loving freind and servant,

"George Monck.

"Dalkeith, 13. Dec. 1659."

VIII.—CIRCULAR FROM GENERAL MONK TO THE CITY OF EDINBURGH AND THE OTHER BURGHS.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I have received your letter and the letter of severall other brughs, and does find my selfe obleidged to returne you reall and heartie thanks for your affectioun to the commonwealth and the army heir, and to that good interest for which we are now contending, and in particular to myself; and to assure you, that we shall alwayis retaine a graitfull sense of it, and sall be reddie upon all occasiouns

to protect and encourage your cittie and all vyr brughis. I desyre you to communicatt this to such your brughis as have subscryved the letters; and remaine, your Lordships very humble servant,

"(*Sic subs.*) GEORGE MONCK.

"This is the true coppie, W. THOMSONE.

"BERWICK, 14. Dec. 1659.

"Mr Thomsone knowis the names of these brughes, that have sent to us, and I desyre to send a copy of this letter vnder your clerkis hand to them.

"*For the Right Hon. Sir James Stewart, Lord Provest, and to the baillies of Edinr.*"

## CHAPTER XIV.

Cope sent a letter frae Dunbar,
Saying, "Charlie, meet me an ye daur,
And I'll show you the art of war,
Right early in the morning."—OLD SONG.

THE REBELLION.—BATTLE OF PRESTON.—DEFEAT OF THE KING'S TROOPS.—DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER.—FLIGHT OF GENERAL COPE.—PAUL JONES.—CAPTAIN FALL.

THE restoration of the Stuarts was in a great measure effected by the tergiversation of General Monk. Richard Cromwell, when he felt that "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," signed his demission in 1660, upon which Monk, like a skilful general, when he beheld the jarring interests of the state, immediately marched upon London, and seizing the first opportunity of declaring for Charles II., was afterwards rewarded with the dukedom of Albemarle for his services in the royal cause.

Charles, who is characterised by Rochester as one "who never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise action," was well calculated to be the puppet of the despotic administration which followed, of which the Duke of Lauderdale was the head. Their first object was to strike a blow at Presbyterianism in Scotland, and by this means to restore Episcopacy as the national religion, being nearer in its forms to the Romish church, which they durst not openly avow. The Scottish clergy, rather than submit to this unwarrantable stretch of authority, relinquished their altars and their homes for conscience' sake; and, under the denomination of Covenanters, worshipped God in the open fields.

To support these arbitrary measures, it was found necessary,

on the 2nd October, 1669, to call out a militia of 16,000 foot and 2000 cavalry, to which Dunbar furnished its quota.*

James, Duke of York, who succeeded Lauderdale in the management of Scottish affairs, visited Scotland in November 1679, when he was met by the magistrates of the burghs in his progress. That reprobate measure, the test act, was next enforced on all persons holding civil and military offices, and as several members in the respective merchant-councils of the burghs, evaded or refused to take this oath, the Earl of Perth, lord high chancellor, issued a circular, in 1686, authorising and enjoining the present magistracy to remain during his majesty's pleasure, and discharging the election of new counsellors. These measures were too severe to continue; and at length in 1688,

* As a proof of the vigilance of the magistracy and the jealousy of the government about this period, we subjoin the following extract from a letter written by Mr Adam Blackader, giving an account of his reception in Scotland on his return from Sweden :—

"It being Sunday, the skipper sayes to me (for he was a very strick pious man), 'What is to be done?' Sayes I, 'That's an impertinent question; you see it is a matter of life and death.' Then he orders his men to weigh anchor; and after being a month at sea, we landed at Dunbar in Scotland.

"So soon as the people of Dunbar observed us cast anchor, we sees a boat coming to us, where was the baily and town-clerk, who came aboard, and asked the skipper if he had got any passengers. He answered he had none but a young gentleman and his wife. 'We must see them,' say they. 'We were called up to the deck. 'From where come you, sir?' 'From Stockholm in Swedland.' 'What's your occupation?' 'A merchant.' 'What's your name, sir?' 'You are very positive in your questions,' said I; 'my name is Blackader.' Then they were more inquisitive, thinking they had got a prize. 'What! are you any relation of Mr Blackader in the Bass there?' 'Yes, sir; I am not ashamed to own my relation to him—I'm a son of his.' This was, it seems, crime enough. 'Aha!' sayes the baily, 'then, by my faith, you'r right enough. You must come both ashoar to prison, till you give account of yourselves to the government.' 'Ou!' sayes I, 'gentlemen, let me come ashoar first and do a fault, before you punish me upon Scotch ground.' 'It's all one,' sayes he, 'this is the council's orders, to secure and examine all stranger passengers.'

"Well, ashoar we comes, in order to go to prison. But good providence, that never failed me, ordered it so, that one of them, Baily Faa, who was intimately acquaint with my father, gave bail for my appearing before the town-council when called—which they took: and he kept me in his house for a fortnight. The town was full of sodgers, going about the country like madmen."—Mem. Rev. J. Blackader.

when the wished-for landing of the Prince of Orange was daily expected, the government taking alarm, addressed the following letter to the magistrates of Dunbar, while beacons were placed on the Bass, St Abb's Head, North-Berwick Law, and Garleton-hill, as signals :—

"FOR MR GEORGE RUTHERFORD, BAILY OF DUMBAR.

"To be directed straight from Haddington to Dumbar.

"HOLYROODHOUS, 30th October, 1688.

"SIR,—I am informed there is a ship arrived at your port, which came off from Rotterdam on Monday was a se'ennight. I desire the favour of you, that you would order the master of that vessell to come to this place immediately, or if his occasions be such as he cannot come himself, that you should receive from him all the information he can give concerning the Dutch fleet, their number of ships, land-men, their design of landing, where and how he left them, and all other circumstances belonging to them, in which you will oblige, your assured friend,

"PERTH."

The arrival of William and Mary, which soon took place, was hailed with joy by the kingdom; but as the expatriated family had many partisans remaining, the seeds of civil discord still lingered in the land; and at this time a large fleet of Dutch fishing vessels appearing at the mouth of the Frith of Forth, on being taken for a French armament, was sufficient to excite alarm.

On the 6th day of March 1696, a proclamation was issued from Edinburgh, calling out the half of the foot militia in the shire of Haddington. The Lord Belhaven was appointed colonel, the laird of Prestongrange lieutenant-colonel, and Ensign Robert Sinclair, major. This militia, by act of parliament, cap. 26, 1663, was only to be employed for the suppression of foreign invasions and intestine troubles. All heritors, and others liable, were commanded to "outreik," and furnish their number and

proportions, on the 12th March, with ten days' pay, at 6d per diem, with their best arms and accoutrements, at Beanston-moor; and for the better encouragement of those who might attend this muster, it was provided that they should not otherwise be troubled nor employed but in resisting the present threatened invasion.

In 1745, the smothered hopes of those who had formed the daring design of re-establishing the Stuarts in 1715, were again revived. The lapse of thirty years, that had consigned many a chief to his narrow bed, had whetted the ardour of their sons; and if we consider that, instead of a prince advanced in years, they were now led on by his son, a youth of great martial talents, enterprising, and compared to "the Bruce" in his personal appearance, we need not be surprised that the leader and his plaided followers went on for a time conquering and to conquer.

It was about the 8th August when the news reached Edinburgh of the descent of Prince Charles. On the first notice, Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope, commander of the forces in Scotland, gave the necessary orders to the troops. Several parties employed in improving the roads were ordered to join their respective regiments; arms and ammunition were sent to the troops and garrisons from the castle of Edinburgh; all military persons whatever in Scotland were required to repair to their respective posts, and the out pensioners of Chelsea Hospital to present themselves before Lieutenant-General Guest at Edinburgh.

On the 4th September, Archibald Stewart, lord provost of Edinburgh, sent a despatch to Provost Lundie of Haddington, to intimate to the most proper persons in the neighbourhood, to send as early intelligence as possible, by expresses on horseback (which the city should pay), of any body of armed men he might find marching to Edinburgh. Which being taken into consideration by the town-council, it was resolved that the magistrates of Haddington settle a correspondence for that pur-

pose between the magistrates of Dunbar and North Berwick; and in furtherance of the same object, they sent letters to the ministers of Tynningham, Dirleton, and Aberlady, to give intelligence of the landing or marching of any armed men in those districts of the county.

Prince Charles entered Edinburgh on the 17th, and took possession of Holyroodhouse, encamping his army in the King's Park.

The friends of the reigning government still flattered themselves that a stop would speedily be put to the progress of the Highland army. Brigadier Fowkes, who had arrived at Edinburgh from London on the 15th, marched next day with the dragoons eastward. The same day, Lieutenant-General Cope, with his transports, arrived off Dunbar. The troops were landed at Dunbar on the 17th, and the artillery, &c., next day, being the nearest port they found it practicable to land on the south side of the Forth. On the 19th, Cope left Dunbar, and marched towards Edinburgh, wending his way by Beanston, and encamped that night in a field to the westward of Haddington.

Early next morning Cope departed, and followed the ordinary line of road, which then led by Huntington to Edinburgh, when striking off to the right, he took the low tract nearer the sea, and passing by St Germains and Seton, arrived at Preston. The same day, Friday, 20th September, Charles joined his followers at Duddingston; and, like Pizarro when he landed, and drew a line on the sand with his sword, and swore he would not return till he accomplished his enterprise, said, "My friends, I have flung away the scabbard!" an action in the style of Charles XII., who threw away his weapon that it might not be taken from him. The army marched, and drew up at Carberry-hill; but finding that General Cope had kept down towards Prestonpans, the Highlanders directed their march along the brow of Fawside-hill, till they came in sight of the king's troops, upon which they gave a great shout by way of defiance, which was answered by a similar huzza from his majesty's soldiers.

General Cope had taken up an admirable position, having a broad and deep ditch in front, the town of Preston on the right, some houses and a morass on the left, and the Frith of Forth in the rear, which rendered an attack on his front almost impracticable; which the rebels observing, caused a large detachment to file towards Preston, with a view of taking them in flank, which being perceived, a motion was made by the army, which prevented the rebels from making an immediate attack, and made them resume their former position. An advanced party of the insurgents having taken possession of the churchyard of Tranent, a train of horsemen sent a few shots amongst them; but during the night there were no other offensive measures.

About three in the morning of Saturday, 21st September, 1745, the patroles observed some movement in the camp of the rebels. The Highlanders, marching eastward, formed a line, with a view to prevent General Cope from making his deploy in that quarter, while another party was stationed on the west, to prevent his getting to Edinburgh. Robert Anderson (a son of Anderson's of Whitburgh, in the parish of Humbie) led the way, followed by Macdonald of Glenaladale, Clanronald, Glengarry, and others of the Highland clans.

Sir John Cope, who had spent the night at Cockenzie, where his baggage was disposed under a guard of the 42nd Regiment, hastened to join his troops. His impression seems to have been, that, after finding it impossible to attack him either across the morass or through the defiles of Preston, they were now about to take up a position on the open fields to the east, that a pitched battle might be fought when day began to appear.

Andrew Henderson (a Whig historian) mentions, in his account of the engagement, that the sentries, on first perceiving the Highland line through the mist, thought it a *hedge*, which, like "Bernam wood coming to Dunsinan," was gradually apparent as the day increased. The event, however, proved that the royal army was completely taken by surprise. To the darkness which hovered o'er the landscape, Charles was in some

measure indebted for his sudden victory. The groups of clans seen through the dim sunny mist seemed of interminable number, augmented by the savage and rustic-armed followers who swelled their train. The English artillery, with their whole line, opened a heavy fire, which did little execution. Covering their faces with their targets, the Highlanders advanced to the very muzzles of the guns of their opponents, when, pulling off their bonnets, and ejaculating a short prayer, they discharged and threw down their muskets as incumbrances, and drawing their broadswords, gave a hideous shout, and cutting right and left, rushed furiously on the king's troops, while a fatal panic soon seized the whole line.

> Then wild and high the Cameron's gathering rose,
> The war-note of Lochiel, which Albyn's hills
> Have heard, and heard, too, have her Saxon foes :—
> How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills,
> Savage and shrill.—BYRON.

The Camerons led the way to victory. That spirited clan having swept over the cannon, found themselves opposed to a squadron of dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. They only fired a few shots, when these dastards, scarcely recovered from their former fright, wheeled about, and fled over the artillery ground. The rear squadron of dragoons, under the gallant Colonel Gardiner, was then ordered to advance to the attack. Their old commander led them forward, encouraging them as well as he could by the way; but they had not proceeded many paces, when, receiving a few shots from the Highlanders, they reeled, turned, and followed their companions, "to witch the world with noble horsemanship." Hamilton's dragoons, at the other extremity of the line, behaved in a similar cowardly manner. No sooner had they seen their comrades flying before the Camerons, than they also turned about and fled, without having fired a carbine. Cope's soldiers, thrown into complete confusion, fell, fled, or surrendered. *Sauve qui pent* ("save himself who can") was now breathed as sincerely as ever it was afterwards uttered by Napoleon's battalions on their defeat at

at Waterloo, when the fatal war-cry of the same descendants of Lochiel arose. One small party alone, out of the whole army, had the resolution to make any resistance. They fought for a brief space, under Colonel Gardiner, who, deserted by his own troops, and observing their gallant behaviour, unfortunately put himself at their head. This brave band suffered severely, and only gave way when their excellent leader fell, pierced with many wounds.

The fate of "the gallant and good Gardiner" was sincerely lamented by both parties. He had taken leave of his family at Stirling only a few days previous, with a fatal presentiment of his approaching fall. "Honest, pious, bold Gardiner," (says General Wightman, in a letter to Lord President Forbes), "died in the field, and was striped near the threshold of his own house." Deserted by his own squadron, and suffering from two shot and sabre wounds—one in the shoulder, the other in the forehead—he still attempted to rally a party of infantry, but in vain, and was cut down from behind by the stroke of a scythe, a weapon with which of the Macgregors were armed.

The battle of Prestonpans was decided in the course of a few hours, and what followed was a dreadful scene of carnage. There never was a victory more complete; but, like the comet's blaze, it was destined to be evanescent. Of the infantry, composed of about 2500 men, scarcely 200 escaped, the rest being either slain or made prisoners. Many of them exhibited a frightful appearance, being hideously cut with the broadsword.

The military chest of the army had been placed in the house of Cockenzie (Mr Cadell's), and the baggage in a large field adjoining, which during the action was upon the left. It was guarded by a few of the Earl of Loudon's Highlanders, the greater part of whom had joined the rebels on the breaking out of the rebellion. This guard, on seeing the event of the battle, surrendered themselves prisoners, while specie to a large amount fell into the hands of the victors; some accounts say to the amount of L.3000—Sir John Cope having secured the rest

(says Alex. Henderson) partly in the Fox man-of-war, and partly at Haddington and elsewhere, which was amongst the most prudent actions of that general during his inglorious campaign.

General Cope, after making a vain attempt to rally Gardiner's dragoons, for the purpose of supporting the broken infantry, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, gathered together about 450 horsemen, at the west end of the village of Preston, and passing from thence up a narrow path leading to Birslie Brae, which was afterwards called "Johnie Cope's road," retreated with them over Soutra-hill to Lauder, and reached Coldstream that same night, a place full forty miles from the morning's battle-field.

The misfortunes of this day as regarded bluff Sir John (not Falstaff), were not to terminate here; for although, as far as personal courage went, Cope was completely acquitted on his trial, he was doomed to be

> Sacred to ridicule his whole life long,
> And the sad burden of a merry song.

On the 21st of September, the magistrates and council of Dunbar, having acquainted the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who was then in that place, that they had a number of arms belonging to the burgh; and being fearful lest they should fall into the hands of the rebels, he granted a warrant that they might be sent on board of a king's ship. They were accordingly shipped on board the Margaret of Aberdeen the same afternoon, and by her delivered next day to the Fox man-of-war, Captain Beaver, commander. These arms consisted of 95 bayonets, 101 muskets, 35 pistols, with nine shoulder-belts, five cartridge-boxes, and one sword-belt. A few weeks afterwards, the Fox, with these arms on board, was unhappily lost at Tyne Sands.

Some days after the success of Charles at Preston, the following letter was received from Secretary Murray :—

"HOLYROODHOUSE, 26th September, 1745.

"SIR,—You are hereby ordered upon receipt of this, to repair

to the Secretary's office in the palace of Holyroodhouse, there to have the contribution to be paid by your town of Dunbar, for his highness's use, ascertained; which shall be done according and in proportion to the duties of excise ariseing out of the said town of Dunbar. For the repayment of which contribution, the said duty shall be assign'd. This you are ordered, upon pain of rebellion, furthwith to obey.—By his highness command,

"Js. Murray.

"*To the Provost of the Town of Dunbar.*"

The town's contribution-money or assessment to the rebels, was L.486, 12s.

On the 30th of October following, the king's birth-day was celebrated in a private manner, at 6 o'clock in the evening, and the glaring appendages of bon-fires and illuminations were dispensed with, as the rebels had still possession of the country.

On the 15th April, 1746, the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day was publicly solemnized; and on the 26th, an address was voted to his majesty, to be presented by the Duke of Argyle, on the defeat of the rebels.

For some months, however, the government continued in an agitated state; and the following letter was transmitted to the magistrates:—

("On his Majesty's service.)

"*To the honourable the Provost and Magistrates of Dunbar.*

"Edinburgh, 27th July, 1746.

"Sirs,—I send you this by express to acquaint you, that by the intelligence that I have from the north, the Pretender's son has left the West Highlands, and fled towards the east coast, in hopes, no doubt, of making his escape that way. Whether he will attempt to get away upon the north-east coast, or if he will endeavour to get into England, or what other course he will take time alone will discover. But it is our duty, and that of every faithful subject, to guard all the avenues as far as is in our power, which makes me give you this early notice; and to desire, that

you would please take the proper measures in your neighbourhood. I am, Sirs, your most obedient humble servant,

"AND. FLETCHER." *

On an application to General Husk, on the 31st March, 1747, he directed David Lyon, store-keeper in the castle of Edinburgh, to deliver 100 muskets and bayonets to the town of Dunbar, for those that they had lost in the late rebellion.†

In 1760 the abolition of giving *vails* to servants, and a Scots militia, were the subjects of general conversation and deliberation. It was then the custom of gentlemen, when visiting their friends, to give perquisites to servants in the name of "*vails* or drink-money," which became a serious tax to visitors. The former usage was easily disposed of, but the latter met with considerable opposition, particularly from the agriculturists, who imagined that the measure would deprive them of the most able-bodied of their labourers. On the 12th March, a bill was introduced to the House of Commons for establishing a militia, which, however, was lost. The measure was allowed to rest till 1762, when it was again revived. A meeting of noblemen, freeholders, and others, was held at Edinburgh on the 26th January, 1762, when a committee was appointed, and the Earl of Haddington chosen preses. The burgh of Haddington opposed the measure, while the county and the burghs of Dunbar and North Berwick supported it.

The lieges of Dunbar now enjoyed a tolerable repose from alarm till the beginning of the American war, when the success of the enemy's privateers on the west coast of Scotland roused their attention; and the council having recommended to the armourer to make up a state of what arms were lodged in the

* Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

† 1745, Sept. 17.—William Valey, burgess in Dunbar, was allowed a claim of L.5 17s. 4d., for loss and damage sustained through the dragoons of Col. Gardiner and Hamilton's regiments, by foraging their horses upon two acres and a half of pease, at the rate of 8s. 4d. per boll. The straw was valued at 1s. per threave.—Haddington Council Reg.

council-house, Dr Hamilton, one of a Committee,* reported on the 8th May, 1778, that 100 stand of arms, as formerly mentioned, had been delivered to the treasurer from Edinburgh; but that the same year the Greenland Company had borrowed sixty stand for the use of their ships, thirty stand of which still remained in their possession. Matters thus remained till May 1779, at which time the country dreading an invasion from the combined fleets of France and Spain, the council of Dunbar, for the purpose of strengthening the hands of government, offered a bounty of three guineas for each able-bodied seaman, and two guineas for every ordinary seaman.

In the month of September the same year, a noted marine adventurer made his appearance off the coast, in the person of John Paul Jones, a native of Selkirk, but now a commander in the French service. His purpose was to burn the shipping in the harbour of Leith. He appeared off Dunbar on the 20th, with five ships, and lay in the offing for some days, as if waiting for the rest of his squadron coming up. An English vessel (afterwards one of the Dunbar Greenland-men, under the name of the Rodney), coming down the Forth in ballast, ran into the port for safety, or rather went ashore at the Lammer-haven, at the mouth of the harbour, being ebb-tide. One of the enemy's gun-brigs, which seemed to have been watching her motions, had given chase to a sloop going southward; but, by a signal from the fleet, she was recalled, although not in time to intercept the English vessel, which consequently escaped. Jones did not fire a single shot into the town; but the brig that gave chase to the above vessel came so near, that, by means of perspective glasses, the seamen were distinctly observed at the main-chains heaving the lead.

While Jones lay off Dunbar, which might be for five or six days, the magistrates applied to the commander-in-chief for

* The committee consisted of Dr James Hamilton, Messrs Grive Wilson, Robert Melville, Alexander Brown, Charles Lorimer, and Robert Macklish.—Council Rec.

troops to defend the place, in case of a landing being attempted by the enemy. A regiment of dragoons was sent from Edinburgh, while most of the inhabitants assembled by tuck of drum, and enrolled themselves as volunteers under Dr Hamilton, &c.; and such as were inclined were to retain their arms, and form themselves into a corps. Four or five guns, belonging to the Greenland ships, were planted on the Kirkhill, where embrasures were dug and a battery formed in the course of an afternoon; a twelve-pounder was placed on the roundel of the pier, and other two pieces of ordnance stood like thunder-tongued sentinels at the entrance from the sands to the harbour, while watchmen were stationed on the church steeple and at Knocking-Hair, and the dragoons occasionally paraded themselves in a line on the heights, in all the "pomp and circumstance of war;" but happily the services of neither were required. On this occasion the Greenland Company shewed their liberality by contributing part of the expenses incurred in fortifying the place.

The squadron having stood up the Frith of Forth, were seen nearly opposite Leith, when a violent south-west wind arising (aided, as was said, by the prayers of a godly minister of Kirkaldy), happily drove them back again, and separated their ships.* Jones seemed anxious to take shelter under the leeward of the Bass; but the gale increasing, he left the coast, and proceeding southward, he encountered his majesty's ships the

* Although we consider the days of prophecy past, since the memorable days of Thomas the Rhymer of Ersledun, and Alexander Peden, yet the Rev. Robert Shirra, minister, Linkton, Kirkcaldy, has brought it down to the days of grandfathers. On the threatened destruction of the shipping in the port of Leith, by the Scoto-American pirate, Paul Jones, in 1779, it is said that when the inhabitants of Kirkaldy were in a state of great excitement and consternation at the sight of the freebooter's squadron, Mr Shirra took an old arm-chair, and sat down on it on the sands, declaring that if God did not listen to his prayer (what presumption), and send a strong westerly wind to drive the pirate vessels out of the Frith, he would sit there and be drowned! Had this bigotted man not read, that "the sea rolled not back when Canute gave command!"

Mr Shirra was a well-meaning, straightforward man, jealous of those who assumed superior powers to himself. At a subsequent period, after he

Serapis and Countess of Scarborough, near Flamborough-head, which he captured after a desperate engagement. The king's ships had the Baltic fleet in convoy, which luckily escaped during the conflict. The enemy carried their prizes to France, having no less than 300 prisoners, which had been taken during their cruise in the north seas. For these exploits the King of France rewarded Jones with the military order of merit, and a gold-hilted sword.*

On the 22nd of May, 1781, about eleven o'clock A.M., Captain Fall, another but less noted maritime adventurer, gave chase to a Gravesend fishing-smack near St Abb's Head, which made for the port of Dunbar. It being ebb-tide, she was under the necessity of casting anchor at the Lammer Island, immediately at the mouth of the harbour. At the same time, a small privateer belonging to the burgh, which lay in Dunbar bay, having that morning arrived from a cruise, felt alarmed, and notwithstanding the bravado conveyed by the usual motto attached to her name, "The Thistle," sought refuge in her mother's lap, astern of the smack. This brave little vessel had been fitted out by the voluntary subscription of the town and neighbourhood, for the purpose of picking up any small craft belonging to the enemy. Under the command of Captain Hare, she performed a voyage to the Leeward Islands, and made the unhappy mistake of capturing a small Prussian vessel, which, as that power was at peace with the country, she had the mortification, which must have been hurtful to the feelings of her veterans, to

had studied under Ebenezer Erskine, professor of theology, to the Associate Synod, 1747 to 1749, he was employed in teaching his fellow-students, and on one occasion he met with the justly-celebrated John Brown of Haddington, who was appointed to the professorial chair in 1768—"Mind man" (quoth Shirra), "though you are professor now, *I* taught you logic!"

* The father of Paul Jones was gardener to Lord Selkirk at St Mary's Isle. The son began his public career as master of a trading vessel belonging to Kirkcudbright; and, on his return to that port, he was imprisoned on the charge of murdering his carpenter, but was acquitted, after being used with uncommon severity. From thence he went to the United States, and latterly into the French service.

restore! She performed no other feat, but sought protection where she had a right to expect it, after the appearance of Captain Fall had thrown a damp over her naval ardour.

To return from our digression—Captain Fall had his boat in the tackles, apparently for the purpose of launching to cut out these vessels, when the bustle on shore seemed to make him change his opinion. The inhabitants, among whom there were some choice spirits, had not been idle. Three twelve-pounder caronnades, belonging to the Greenland Company, had been brought from their storehouse to the Lammer Island, the same spot on which the battery was afterwards built. Provost Robert Fall collected every sack of flour deposited in his granaries, for the purpose of forming embrasures for the protection of the gunners. To convey these every vehicle was put in requisition; some were carried in carts and barrows, while others were dragged by the people; and even women and children flocked in multitudes to the island, anxious, like the pen-and-ink warriors at Prestonpans, to behold the result. These three guns, being the most important, were chiefly manned by sailors, under the direction of George Spiers, a carpenter, who had served in the Royal Navy.

Another party, chiefly landsmen, dragged two nine-pounders, that were found in Tyne sands, and had belonged to the ill-fated Fox man-of-war, but which had been "left alone in their glory" without carriages, to an eminence on the castle. These guns were under the direction of Bailies Simpson and Pringle. A shrewd bystander observing that they went to fight in a more barbarous manner than pirates, having no colours, one of the bailies sent for an ensign belonging to the Princess of Wales Greenland-man, which was immediately hoisted on that eminence where Scotland's standard flamed of yore.

Provost Fall having ordered away all *useless hands* from the island above mentioned, prepared for action. The veteran Spiers was not long in sending a well-directed shot under the enemy's bow; the second shot told still better, going betwixt the mast

and the foresheet; and the third was observed to drop into the ocean, right astern. The party on the castle did not succeed so well. Having no shot large enough for the calibre of their pieces, they put in four or five six-pound shot into one gun; the consequence was, that the powder hanging loosely about the balls, had little effect, and they were scattered like ponderous lead-drops at the back of the island, to the no small consternation of the brave party stationed there. The first shot of Captain Fall fell into Provost Fall's garden, which was situated at the back of his house, now the front of the barracks. Striking the ground, it covered a person working there with gravel. The second shot struck a log of Memel timber lying at the road leading to the castle; and the third and last shot fell at the Lammer-haven.

The well-directed shots sent from the shore had their due effect, and the enemy, after remaining an hour and a half off the town, and within half a mile of the shore, sheered off. He proceeded to the Isle of May, about fifteen miles distant, and carried off all its sheep. A party of volunteers had in the meantime provided themselves with muskets, and proceeding to the end of the pier, fired a volley by way of biding him good-bye.*

* The following is a specimen of the epistolary style of the pirate captain, which, but for the favouring breeze, and the report of a distant gun, might have been handed into Dunbar:—

"At Sea, May The twenti-third.

GENTLEMEN,—I send these two Words to inform you—That I will have you to Bring to, to The french color in Less than a quarter of an hour, or I set The town in fire Directly; such is the order of My Master the King of france, I am sent by. Send directly the Mayor and The Chiefs of the town to Make Some agreements With me; or I'll Make my Duty. It is the Will of yours, &c.,

"G. FALL.

"*To Mons. mayor of the town call'd arbrought; or in his absence to the Chief man after him in Scotland.*"

Fall had the audacity to demand L.30,000 of Arbroath; but although he kept up a cannonade at intervals for three days, the coolness and determination of the magistracy wearied him out, and he weighed anchor.

## CHAPTER XV.

To horse! to horse! the standard flies,
The bugles sound the call;
The Gallic navy stems the seas,
The voice of battle's on the breeze,
Arouse ye, one and all!—SIR W. SCOTT.

THE VOLUNTEERS.—THE CAMP.—THE BARRACKS.—THE FALSE ALARM.—NAPOLEON.—THE KING'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND.—QUEEN VICTORIA'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND.—THE RUSSIAN WAR.

IT was now found necessary to do something to put the burgh into a state of defence against the visit of privateers. On the 22nd June, 1781, the magistrates and council met for this purpose; and the plan of a fortress, drawn by Mr Fraser, engineer, was adopted, and the present battery was erected on the Lammer Island. The battery mounted sixteen guns, of different calibre, the largest two being long eighteen-pounders. The last public occasion on which they were fired was on the lamented death of the Princess Charlotte. The government guns were afterwards removed to Edinburgh on the general peace.

After the alarm created by Captain Fall's vessel, in the following year, 16th July, 1782, the South Fencibles, commanded by the Duke of Buccleuch, left Edinburgh Castle, and entered into encampment for a short time on the East Links of West Barns. This regiment was 1000 strong; and besides it, there was a park of artillery, under Captain Dickson, formed in the field west of that occupied by the infantry. On Wednesday, September 18th, the soldiers were reviewed by General Mackay, along with his own regiment, the 21st, which was in quarters at Dunbar. At this time the arrival of the Baltic fleet, which con-

sisted of about forty sail, was anxiously looked for, and on their appearance off Dunbar on the 20th, an express was immediately sent to Edinburgh with the happy intelligence. They came under convoy to Shields. On the 11th of October the camp was raised, and the South Fencibles went into winter quarters at Linlithgow, the artillery being removed to the castle of Edinburgh.

In 1783 there was another encampment at West Barns, consisting of the Essex Light Dragoons and a regiment of Black Horse.

Long after the rebellion was subdued, there was a secret grudge between the Saxon and the Gael; the former felt the superiority of united numbers, and the latter the pangs of wounded pride in the fallen fortunes of his prince: hence a Highland and English regiment seldom came in contact without a scuffle. On one occasion, in consequence of a part of a Highland regiment and a body of dragoons coming into billet-quarters at Dunbar, a serious affray took place, in which several of the men were wounded; and the consequences might have been still more serious, had the Highlanders not been withdrawn from the town by their officers.

The era of the French revolution, however, in time buried the animosities of both nations in their efforts against the common enemy. The success of the republican arms in Germany, and the uncompromising attitude which Great Britain assumed, made it necessary that individuals should associate together and arm in their own defence. Accordingly, a corps of volunteers was raised in 1793, by Major George Hay. They were called the "Dunbar Defensive Company"—were furnished with arms and accoutrements by government—drilled twice a-week, and received 2s. weekly of pay. The corps consisted of one company of 73 men, which was afterwards augmented to 100. On the appointment of Major Hay to a militia regiment, the command devolved on Christopher Middlemass, Esq., as the next senior officer. At the same time, a gentleman-company was enrolled,

who furnished themselves with clothing, and served without pay. As a mark of distinction, they were placed on the right of the corps.*

The East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry were enrolled in 1797, under the command of Sir James Gardiner Baird, Bart. It consisted of three troops, averaging 50 men each. The fourth, or Dunbar troop, was raised by Mr Hay of Spott, in 1803, and was 75 men strong.

Every precaution was now used to guard against invasion, or of being surprised by the enemy. Telegraphs and signal-stations were erected on the heights of St Abb's and Blackcastle, which communicated with Dunbar battery, North-Berwick Law, and Garleton-hill, and thus commanded the whole extent of the coast and inland country all the way to Edinburgh. The first encampment during the revolutionary war was formed at West Barns in 1796. It was composed of the Scots brigade in two battalions (afterwards the 94th foot), under the command of General Francis Dundas, and the 4th Regiment of Dragoons. These were relieved on the same ground, when the Scots brigade embarked at Dunbar, by Fencible cavalry—viz., the Dumbarton, Lanark, and the Dumfries.

During the interval between this period and the peace of Amiens, the Dutch and French fleets were destroyed by Duncan and Nelson, and the noise of invasion gradually died away; but after the rupture of 1803, nothing but Napoleon and his bridge of boats, were dreamt or spoken of; and the greatest military force ever assembled on these shores in these latter days was now encamped at West Barns Links, under the vigilant command of General Sir George Don. The regiments consisted of the Lanarkshire, Perthshire, and Fife militias; the Galloway as gunners, and a few dragoons to do the general's duty.

* This regiment was disembodied in April, 1802. The gentleman-company wore blue coats with red collars, white vests, white breeches, and stockings, with short black gaiters. The other companies had blue coats with red facings, and blue striped trousers, which were afterwards changed to tight pantaloons, and round hats with cockades.

The volunteers were reimbodied in the month of June, in a more effective manner, by Major Middlemass, under the name of the "Dunbar Loyal Volunteers." The battalion consisted of four companies of 80 men each, rank and file, which, for the convenieney of field movements, were subdivided into eight companies of forty men each, including a grenadier and light company. They had muskets, havresacks, and canteens, and were allowed the common rate by government for clothing, which being of a finer fabric than that used by the regular army, the difference was defrayed at their own expense. Their clothing was scarlet, faced with green, and white lace; with white breeches and long gaiters. The corps drilled twice a-week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays; and as they had a good band of music, they drew forth on all occasions plenty of the young and gay as spectators. In short, the smart appearance of this little battalion, with its music and its spirited manœuvres, gave it considerably the lead of all the neighbouring volunteer corps.

The determined principle which the country had adopted in prosecuting the war against the "modern Cromwell," rendered it necessary that more substantial cantonments should be found for the soldiery than the tented field; accordingly, barracks were erected at Dunbar and Haddington, in the autumn of 1803, with wonderful celerity. At Dunbar they were begun ere the crop was off their site, and were occupied by the 1st of November. The infantry and artillery barracks were situated on the Heugh Heads, a high ground overlooking the sea, west from the castle park. The huts were capable of containing 12,000 infantry and 300 artillery. The cavalry barracks were situated in the park betwixt the Gallowgreen and Belhaven, and were capable of containing 300 men.* The first regiments that

* The Infantry barracks consisted of 104 huts—viz. 2 mess-rooms, with kitchen, cellars, &c.; 8 field-officer's rooms, 42 for officers, 45 for soldiers, 25 for servants; and 2 for staff-sergeants; besides stables for 40 horses, an hospital, store-houses, guard-houses, &c.

The Artillery Barracks consisted of 34 huts—viz. 1 mess-room, 2 field-officers' rooms, 12 for officers, 12 for soldiers, 7 for servants; besides stables

occupied the barracks were the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire militias, and a light brigade of artillery.

In regard to the barracks, one thing is worthy of remark, that a more healthy situation, independently of other circumstances, could not have been chosen. A regiment has been known to march into the barracks with 170 in the sick-report, which in a short time was reduced to six; and in one instance a regiment of 1360 men had not one man in the hospital. It was a general complaint all over Britain that the hospitals could not contain the sick; but at Dunbar the hospital, though only constructed for one-half of the regulated number, would have answered the purpose had it been one-fourth the size.

The erection of the barracks was the golden age of East Lothian. It not only brought a vast population to the burghs, and set a great deal of capital in circulation, but the cattle and victual consumed by the troops, the forage by the dragoon horses, and the value of their manure, was of material service to the agriculturists. The farmer, in place of his keg of aqua or cask of country-brewed ale, could now treat himself to a pipe of wine, and the merchant could introduce the piano into his drawing-room as a substitute for his grandmother's spinning-wheel! Many active persons, also, who had formerly moved in a very obscure sphere of life, came suddenly into notice, and by dint of honest industry, and other means, acquired moderate competencies; and he who but yesterday held the plough might now be a candidate for the highest civic honours of the burgh. Not content with individual gains, our municipal rulers also wished to turn the occurrence to public advantage; accordingly, the town of Haddington, which holds a right to part of the anchorage of Aberlady, turned her eyes to the harvest that

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for 140 horses, gun-shed, smiths', farriers', wheelers', and saddlers' shops, guard-house, stores, &c.

The Cavalry Barracks consisted of 44 huts—viz. 1 mess-room, 4 field-officers' rooms, 16 for officers, 4 for quarter-masters, 4 for sergeants, 12 for soldiers; besides stables for 320 horses, hay-sheds, granaries, guard-house, store-rooms, &c.

might be reaped from her sea-port, and on the 6th October, 1804, the town-council presented a memorial to government, recommending the port of Aberlady as a fit place for a *naval* station; and requested the Lords of the Treasury to cause a survey of the coast to be made for that purpose—a scheme which we are not aware met with any consideration, as its proximity to Leith could have rendered it of little utility. The plan of Dunbar new harbour was at that time also suggested, which not only possessed greater natural advantages as a basin, but appeared pregnant with utility as a fishing station.

Dunbar was now pretty well prepared to meet the threatened invasion, and a more vigilant officer than General Don could not have been appointed. He had already been severely wounded in actual service, and he both knew the care and circumspection necessary for the important post which he filled. On the 19th November, 1803, he issued instructions for the regulation of the yeomanry and volunteer infantry of the county of Haddington, in the event of being called into service, which will be found in the Note at the end of this chapter.

General Don seems to have taken a great interest in the volunteers; and accordingly, on the 29th of the same month, he entered into a correspondence with Major Middlemass respecting their equipment, in order that they might feel as comfortable as possible when on duty. The articles recommended were, great-coats, knapsacks, havresacks, canteens, and camp-kettles. To carry this into effect, the town of Dunbar contributed fifty guineas, General Don thirty guineas, and each man 40s. It was considered that a sum not less than L.600 would be required for this purpose. It was also the wish of Lord Moira that each man should carry sixty rounds of ball-cartridges. The boxes, however, were only enlarged to carry forty.

On the evening of the 2nd February, 1804, a circumstance occurred which at least placed the zeal of the yeomanry and volunteer corps beyond a doubt. The person who kept watch at Hounamlaw, in Roxburghshire, mistook some accidental light

which arose at a *house-heating*, situated in a conspicuous spot in the neighbourhood of Dunse, for the beacon of Dunselaw, and she in her turn lighted up, when she beheld the former in a blaze; or, according to another version, in a note to the "Antiquary," it was the person stationed at Home Castle, who was deceived by some accidental fire in Northumberland; consequently the signal was immediately repeated through all the valleys on the English border. Luckily, the watch stationed at St Abb's Head considered, that had there been a descent on the eastern sea-coast the alarm must have come from that quarter, and did not fire his beacon, otherwise the alarm would have blazed from Blackcastle to Garleton, and alarmed the whole of the north of Scotland.

In Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire, the volunteers got under arms with wonderful rapidity; and next morning the inhabitants of Dunbar were surprised by the arrival of the Berwickshire yeomanry at an early hour, some of whom were no doubt chagrined at the hoax, while others were agreeably disappointed. The same day the Dunse volunteers came to Haddington, being their appointed place of rendezvous in the event of an invasion; and the Selkirkshire yeomanry, notwithstanding their remote distance from the alarm-post, reached Dalkeith by one o'clock.

On the 7th May, 1804, the Haddington volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hay Mackenzie, went on permanent duty into the North Barracks of Dunbar for fourteen days; and on the 19th, the whole of the military stationed in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, including the garrison of Haddington, were reviewed on Westbarns Links by the Earl of Moira, then commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. The regiments reviewed were the first and second battalions of the 18th or Royal Irish; the Perthshire and Galloway militia, the latter as gunners; and a brigade of the Royal Artillery; also a brigade of volunteer infantry—viz. the Dunbar, Haddington, North Berwick, Dunse, Eyemouth, and Coldingham regiments, and the

Berwickshire and East Lothian yeomanry—the whole amounting at least to 5000 men.

This military parade continued but a few years. Napoleon got so much embroiled with the continental powers, that our brave countrymen, in junction with their allies, met the enemy in other lands, and on other shores, and the alarm of an invasion ceased.

In 1808 the Haddingtonshire Local Militia was embodied—Lord Sinclair of Herdmonston, colonel-commandant, and Lord Binning (now Earl of Haddington), lieutenant-colonel—upon which the volunteer regiments of the county transferred their services to that corps. The regiment was 686 strong. Their clothing was scarlet, with yellow facings, and grey trousers; and in other points similar to the regular militia.

The year 1809 was memorable for a jubilee in honour of George III., who had entered into the fiftieth year of his reign. This event was celebrated in the burgh with its usual loyalty, social assemblies, fireworks, &c.

On the 6th February, 1810, the Prince Regent, owing to the melancholy state of his majesty's health, assumed the reins of the executive government, which he carried on with the same ministry that had been appointed by his father, George III.

On the 7th October, 1813, Lord Wellington entered France with his victorious army. The people in the south of France received the British as friends and deliverers from a yoke thrown over them by a man of consummate military genius, although a soldier of fortune, which they were ready to cast off on the first opportunity. The Earl of Dalhousie was despatched with 5000 men to Bourdeaux, when the citizens immediately declared for the Bourbons, upon which deputies were sent to Louis XVIII., and the British invited to enter the town. The close of the campaign was marked by one unfortunate event. In a sortie which the French made from Bayonne, the picquets of the British were driven in, and General Sir John Hope (afterwards Earl of Hopetoun) was made prisoner. The Earl of Dalhousie

remained at Bourdeaux till the general peace was concluded, and superintended the return of the British army, which he brought home in 1814. Congratulatory addresses were voted by the burghs of Dunbar and Haddington on this happy event to the Prince Regent; and the freedom of the latter burgh was conferred on the Earl of Dalhousie, as a mark of respect for his important services.

The voluntary abdication of Napoleon followed these successes; and, as a mockery of his former greatness, the sovereignty of the petty island of Elba was awarded to him, with a garrison of 400 men, and an annual revenue of two million of francs. He was conveyed thither by British ships, under the surveillance of Colonel Sir Neil Campbell.

The revolution in the affairs of Napoleon had a wonderful effect over the nation. The destinies of mankind seemed to hang on his successes or his defeat. Europe awoke as from a dream, and, in the energetic language of Byron, "wondered that she had been the footstool of a thing so mean"—that

> "Since he, miscall'd the morning star,
> Nor man nor fiend, has fallen so far."

It was therefore ordained that the barracks, which had arisen with as much celerity as if the magic wand of Alladin had been employed in their erection, should be as speedily removed; accordingly, in the beginning of October, 1814, the barrack materials were brought to sale by public auction, and, after the brief space of eleven years, the barracks both at Haddington and Dunbar were as totally removed by the month of November as if they had never existed.

A few months had only elapsed, when the star of Napoleon again arose, to the astonishment of Europe. He suddenly left Elba, and landed at Frejus, when he was joined by Marshal Ney and most of his old officers and generals. His return looked rather like a triumph than an invasion. He soon found, however, that his power had been irremediably shaken, and the field of Waterloo closed the military drama of this great soldier.

Meanwhile a faction had arisen in the country, who, under the specious name of radical reform, sought to sweep away at one fell swoop every vested right, and to root up every ancient establishment. There may be "something rotten in the state of Denmark," but it requires cautious hands to remove the leaky planks of the national vessel, and a skilful carpenter to supply timber of a better quality. The plausible doctrine of universal suffrage was also widely circulated—a doctrine than which nothing can be more absurd; for as long as talent and industry continue to tread on the heels of imbecility and sloth, so long will distinctions in society necessarily exist. Treasonous practices were pursued in England. In Scotland the flame of sedition spread in the manufacturing districts, regular drillings were held, and seditious proclamations issued. Government, in consequence of these proceedings, issued orders that the yeomanry of the neighbouring counties should assemble at Glasgow, and in a few days 5000 troops were collected in that city. Overawed by this imposing force, the insurgents, who had assembled at Bonnymuir, near Kilsyth, were routed by a troop of huzzars, nineteen taken prisoners, three executed, and others transported. During these commotions, the East Lothian Yeomanry, under Sir James Gardiner Baird, having been ordered to Edinburgh, while the Berwickshire came to Haddington, the thanks of the city were conveyed to the former by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh (John Manderston) to the Earl of Haddington; as also that of the county of Edinburgh, through the most noble the Marquis of Lothian to the same nobleman.

On King George IV.'s visit to Scotland in August, 1822, the squadron attending his majesty appeared off St Abb's Head about nine o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the 14th. On passing Dunbar, a salute was fired from the battery, and from some pieces of cannon placed on Doonhill by Mr Hay, and where a bonfire was lighted in the evening. Several persons went off in boats, and had an opportunity of seeing the king, who bowed with his usual affability to the spectators.

At a meeting of the magistrates and council, held on the Friday preceding, a dutiful and loyal address was voted; and it was agreed that the town should be illuminated, which took place on the Thursday after the king's arrival.

On Monday the 19th, the Berwickshire yeomanry went into quarters at Musselburgh, and next day the East Lothian yeomanry assembled at Haddington. Both regiments, with the rest of the military, were reviewed by his majesty at Portobello Sands on Friday the 23rd.

The king's departure from Scotland was announced about seven o'clock on the evening of the 29th, by some guns placed on the Bass. A bonfire was immediately lighted at Dunbar pier-head, and a salute fired from the battery, which was echoed by the guns placed on Doonhill; but the wetness and darkness of the night precluded any view of the squadron, save the glimpse of a solitary light at one of their mast heads.

In the year 1827, three troops of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry were disembodied, viz. the Salton, Seton, and Gifford, but the officers were allowed to retain their commissions. The Dunbar troop, under James Hunter, Esq. of Thurston, continued to serve without pay.

The demise of George IV. took place at Windsor on the 26th June, 1830.

On the 2nd July the town council took the oath of allegiance to William IV., on his accession to the throne, and voted an address of congratulation on the event.

On the 20th June, 1837, the town council voted an address to her Majesty Queen Victoria, on her accession to the throne; and on the 28th June, 1838, the coronation of her majesty was celebrated throughout the country with great rejoicings.

In the beginning of 1840, an event occurred which excited considerable interest throughout the united kingdom. On the 10th February, her Majesty Queen Alexandrina Victoria was married to Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emanuel, Duke of Saxe, Prince Coburg and Gotha, which was celebrated with great

rejoicings in Dunbar and throughout the country. This happy event was further augmented on the 21st November, 1840, by the birth of the Princess Royal of England, which was also celebrated in our royal burgh with the greatest demonstrations of loyalty; and, on the 11th November, 1841, by the birth of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales.

Early in the summer of 1842, the intelligence of the queen's intention to visit her Scottish dominions was received with the greatest satisfaction. As the popularity of her majesty gave a double zest to the anticipated measure, every effort was made that loyalty could devise or science execute, to welcome her with the pomp and splendour considered due to her exalted station.

On the 31st August, 1842, at the early hour of five o'clock in the morning, the burgh of Dunbar announced the commencement of their demonstrations to welcome her majesty by the ringing of bells. On the old castle a flag-staff was erected, and the union-flag of England fluttered in the breeze. From this eminence, and from the pier during the day, many an anxious eye was turned towards St Abb's Head; but it was seven in the evening before the queen's yacht was descried from this lofty promontory. The squadron passed Dunbar about eight o'clock, when a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the castle, which was answered by a beautiful flight of rockets from her majesty's fleet. Fires were immediately lighted on Doonhill, the Vault-point, the Kirkhill, and castle of Dunbar, the estate of Ninewar, &c., and every elevated point in East Lothian was soon shrouded in smoke and flame; and, indeed, among the many modes which Scotland adopted to testify her loyalty to her majesty, none were of a more imposing nature than the large bonfires lighted on the summits of her lofty mountains. From the Garleton hills, which are nearly in the centre of the county, and which were also lighted up, as many as thirty of these colossal fires were observed, amongst which the high conical peak of North Berwick Law shone conspicuous, the promontory of Seacliff

of Dunse Castle, lieutenant-colonel commandant, in consequence of a placard issued by her majesty's Lord Lieutenant-General, the Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T., under the following conditions:—

1. Volunteers to be enrolled for five years, and not to be sent abroad.
2. A bounty of L.6, to be paid at stated periods during the five years.
3. Ten shillings to be paid on being enrolled.
4. Five shillings to the person who brought a fit volunteer to the regiment.
5. The regiment to be clothed in a similar uniform to the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

Volunteers to be taken from 18 to 35 years of age, and not under 5 feet 6 inches in height.

The militia were at first billetted on the inhabitants; but this measure being considered a great grievance, especially by the small householders, a representation was made to government, which was favourably received. Accordingly the Earl of Lauderdale's house, at the foot of the High Street, which had long been untenanted, with the Castle Park in front, was purchased for the accommodation of the garrison; while that large tenement in the same street, which goes under the name of the New Inn, along with its spacions stables, was also secured for the use of the officers.

From the vast resources of Russia, no one could prophecy, on the commencement of the war, when or how it might terminate. But the fall of Sebastopol humbled the pride of the Czar, and he was glad to sue for peace. But for this concession, the flags of England and France might have been floating on the towers of St Petersburg.

The militia regiments were now disembodied, and on the 18th July, 1856, the artillery were conveyed to Dunse by the railway train, and the men, after receiving the thanks of their gallant

colonel—who pointed out the necessity, if they would rise in the world, of continuing to cultivate the habits of punctuality which they had been taught in the militia—returned to their homes.

A dispute now occurred in regard to the quarters of the disembodied staff. At a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply at Haddington (Tuesday, October 28th, 1856), on the subject of a storehouse for the arms and accoutrements of the disembodied regiment of artillery militia, made in quotas by the counties of Haddington, Berwick, Linlithgow, and Peebles, it was stated that the Marquis of Tweeddale, the lord-lieutenant, had selected Dunbar for the head-quarters ; but Colonel Hay, having his residence at Dunse, refused to concur in the transfer of the arms and stores to Dunbar. His lordship, under these circumstances, took the opinion of the Solicitor-General, who considered the marquis had only exercised his statutory duty in providing a storehouse for the regiment, and that he presumed the colonel must obey the Sectretary at War—and that he had no doubt of the liability of the other counties for the expenses incurred by Haddington. The marquis said he had selected one of the most suitable buildings for the purpose, which would cost L.800 if purchased, or taken on a lease of sixty years. On the motion of Lord Elcho, the proceedings of the lord-lieutenant were approved of. The head-quarters of the staff were accordingly fixed at Dunbar.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XV.

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CORPS OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY, AND REGIMENTS AND CORPS OF VOLUNTEER INFANTRY IN THE COUNTY OF HADDINGTON.*

"On the signals being made for an enemy's fleet being off the coast, or that a descent has been effected in the north of England or in Scotland, or that positive intelligence is received to that effect, the corps of yeomanry and infantry will instantly assemble at their respective alarm-posts, where each horseman is to be provided with a cloak, great-coat, or blanket, and with two days' provisions for himself, and two days' corn for his horse; and where as many ball cartridges and flints are to be issued to the infantry as each man can carry (60 rounds if possible), and where each soldier of infantry is to be provided with two days' provisions (to be carried in a havresack or knapsack), and with a great-coat or blanket, to be rolled up and slung over his shoulder. Such of the infantry as have not yet been armed with firelocks or pikes, must be provided with pitchforks, or any other weapon which can be procured for them.

"EAST LOTHIAN CORPS OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY.—The first, second, and third troops of this corps will, on an alarm, assemble at Haddington, and join and act with the brigade stationed at that town; and should the brigade have marched from it, these troops will follow the column, and endeavour to join it as soon as possible. The fourth troop of this corps will assemble at Dunbar, and join and act with the brigade stationed at that town; and should the column have marched from thence, the troop will follow and join it as soon as possible.

"DUNBAR REGIMENT OF VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.—This regiment will, on an alarm, assemble at Dunbar, and immediately join and act with the brigade at that town.

* The author is indebted to Hugh Fraser, Esq., Haddington, for this document, as well as for other information.

"NORTH BERWICK CORPS OF VOLUNTEERS.—On an alarm, this corps will immediately assemble at North Berwick, and join and act with any troops that may be stationed at that town.

"Should the enemy land to the eastward of Dunbar, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed by Whitekirk and Tyningham Bridge to Dunbar, where the commanding officer will inform himself of the march of the brigade from that town, and follow the direction of the column, and endeavour to join it as speedily as possible.

"Should the enemy land at Tyningham Sands, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position of Lawhead.

"Should the enemy attempt to land at Peffer Sands, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position on Whitekirk heights; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy at the said sands, taking care to secure a retreat to the above-mentioned heights.

"Should the enemy attempt to land at Dirleton Bay, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the high ground and woods to the westward of Archerfield; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy in the above bay, taking care to secure a retreat to the heights at Fentontower.

"Should the enemy attempt to land at Gulane or Aberlady bays, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position at Gulane heights; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy in these bays, taking care to secure a retreat to Killduff-hill, and afterwards to the strong position at Garleton-hills.

"Should the enemy land between Aberlady Bay and Prestonpans, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed along the coast and act upon the left flank of the enemy, taking care to secure a retreat to Garleton-hills.

"Should the enemy land at Musselburgh, or to the westward of that town, this corps will march from North Berwick, and will proceed along the coast and endeavour to join the brigade at Musselburgh, under the command of Major-General Sir James St Clair Erskine.

"On the taking up of any of the foregoing positions, the commanding officer of this corps will send forward a guide on horse-

back (who must be previously secured at North Berwick), to Major-General Sir James St Clair Erskine or myself, according to the line of march the corps may have moved, and to report its situation, and receive further orders.

"In the above movements and operations, this corps will act as a light corps; and when opposing the enemy, will take extended order behind hedges and walls, and in ditches or in woods, and endeavour as much as possible to conceal its force.

"On the march of this corps from North Berwick to any of the above-mentioned positions, the corps will kill all the live stock which may not be driven from the coast or employed on the public service, particularly horses.

"HADDINGTON REGIMENT OF VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.—This regiment will assemble at Haddington, and join and act with the brigade stationed there. Should the brigade have marched from thence, the regiment will follow the column, and endeavour to join it as speedily as possible.

"Given at West Barns, this 19th day of November, 1803.

"GEO. DON, Maj-Gen.

"*The Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Hay Mackenzie, commanding the Haddington Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.*"

END OF PART I.

THE

# HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

## PART II.

## ECCLESIASTICAL.

### CHAPTER I.

The sacred tapers' lights are gone,
Grey moss has clad the altar stone,
The holy image is o'erthrown,
The bell has ceased to toll.
The long-ribbed aisles are burst and shrunk,
The holy shrines to ruin sunk,
Departed is the pious monk—
God's blessing on his soul!—REDIVIVA.

#### MONASTIC ANTIQUITIES.—ST BALDRED.—THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

ACCORDING to Bede, there was a Saxon monastery of St Baldred at Tyningham so early as the sixth century. In 635, the bishoprick of Lindisfarn comprehended the whole of Lothian. The Breviary of Aberdeen contains some particulars which have not been met with elsewhere, in which it is stated that "Baldred, the suffragan of St Kentigern, flourished in Lothian in virtue and in illustrious miracles. Being eminently devout, he renounced all worldly pomp; and following the example of John the Divine, resided in solitary places, and betook himself to the the islands of the sea. Among these he had recourse to one called *Bass*, where he led a life, without all question, contemplative and strict, in which for many years he held up to remem-

brance the most blessed Kentigern, his instructor, in the constant contemplation of the sanctity of his conduct.*

While residing in this sublime solitude, Baldred died on the 6th March, 607-8. Held in veneration by the natives, on his demise the three neighbouring parishes of Aldham, Tyningham, and Preston, laid claim to his remains. It being impossible to satisfy the multitude without supernatural agency, the enraged embassy were on the point of deciding right by might, when a Pictish sage judiciously advised them to spend the night in prayer, that the bishop of the diocese might have an opportunity of settling their dispute in the morning. "When day dawned," says Holinshed, "there were found three biers, with three bodies decently covered with clothes, so like in all resemblance that no man might perceive any difference. Then, by commandment of the bishop, and with great joy of the people, the said three bodies were carried severally unto the said three several churches, and in the same buried in most solemnwise, where they remain until this day, in much honour with the common people of the counties near adjoining." Such was the credulity of untutored savages, that this event was advanced as an irrefragable proof of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Camerarius gravely observes, that the dispute was settled by the prayers of the saint himself; while John Major asserts the doctrine to be supported by the fact. For a further account of St Baldred, see the author's poem on that subject.

In the age of miracles we also had three female saints, who competed for the distinction of which should build a church nearest to the sea, which, however curious, may probably have arisen from the circumstance of three churches on the eastern coast having been built in such situations. An old rhyme regarding the erection of these holy fabrics will be music to the ear of the poetic antiquary:—

> St Abb, St Helen, and St Bey,
> They a' built kirks which to be nearest to the sea—

* Dr Jamieson's Hist. Culdees.

St Abb's upon the nabs,
St Helen's * on the lee ;
St Ann's,† upon Dunbar sands,
Stands nearest to the sea ! ‡

In 941 Anlaf, the Dane, spoiled the church, and burnt the village of Tyningham, which the erudite Chalmers observes, is a very early notice of the kirktown of this place.

The first notice we have of the church of Dunbar is in the Taxatio of Lothian, in 1176, where Ecclesia de Dunbar, cum capella de Whytingeham, is assessed at 180 merks ; and it was the highest in the deanery, Haddington being rated at only 120 merks. The following places, now in Dunbar Presbytery, are thus rated in the same taxatio :—

| | Mercas. |
|---|---|
| Ecclesia de Dunbar cum capella de Whitingeham, - | 180 |
| ,, de Lintoun (Prestonkirk), - - - | 100 |
| ,, de Haldhamstock, - - - - | 60 |
| ,, de Tyningham (now merged into Whitekirk), | 40 |
| ,, de Aldham (which also now belongs to Whitekirk), | 6 |
| ,, de Innerwyk, - - - - - | 30 |
| ,, de Hanus, or Petcocks (now merged into Stenton), | 10 |

The church of Cockburnspath (anciently Colbrand's-path) does not appear in the ancient taxatio. As it seems never to have been connected with any religious house, it was probably, like that of Dunglas, only a chapel. Spott was also a "rectoria"

* How impressive the ruins of a kirk and a kirkyard in such a solitary spot, far from any peopled habitation. Nothing to be seen but a few sheep nibbling the grass, and nothing heard but the distant sound of the ocean, the hum of the honey-laden bee, or the scream of the sea-fowl. Here and there a flat tombstone tells of the long-forgotten inhabitant who moulders below.—Recollections on visiting St Helen's Church.

† There was also chapel of St Ann at Haddington.

‡ St Abb's Head is a foreland jutting out into the German ocean, well known to mariners. On the western hill there is an observatory, useful in the preventive service ; and on the eastern, the remains of a monastery and church, which were dedicated to Ebba, a pious abbess, and sister of one of the kings of Northumberland, from whom the name of the locality is derived. St Helen's lies between Cockburnspath and St Abb's Head, and still shows the remains of some building. St Ann's, however, upon "Dunbar sands," must have occupied a different site from the ancient and present building, which stands on a height considerably above the beach.

belonging to Dunbar. There was also a chapel at the prebendary of Pinkerton, and at Hetherwick (Ninewar).

According to the Chronicle of Melrose, Adam, the parson of Dunbar, died in 1179.*

In 1245, there was a composition between the prior and chapter of St Andrews on the one part, and the monks of Haddington on the other, in which the chapter "Orientali Laudoniæ" of East Lothian is distinctly stated. The authority of the Bishop of St Andrews continued till the bishoprick of Edinburgh was established by Charles I., when the power was transferred to the latter. By this new arrangement the ministers of Tranent, Haddington, and Dunbar, were constituted three of the nine prebendaries of Edinburgh; and such continued to be the ecclesiastical state of Haddington till the Reformation placed it under the jurisdiction of presbyterian synods.

### MONASTERY OF RED FRIARS.

In 1218, Patrick, sixth Earl of Dunbar, founded a monastery of Red or Trinity friars in Dunbar. These friars were also called Matharines, from a house which they had in Paris, dedicated to St Matharine; also, "De Redemptione Captivorum," as their office was partly to redeem Christian slaves from Turkish bondage. They were first established by St John of Malta and Felix de Valois, the latter of whom was an anchorite at Cerfroid, about three miles from Grandalu. By a bull of Pope Innocent III. in 1209, it appears they had six monasteries in Scotland. Their houses were called hospitals or ministries; and a third of their substance or rents was appropriated for the redemption of slaves, as above mentioned. Their habit was white, with a red and blue cross upon their scapular or short cloak.†

It appears from the researches of General Hutton, who has thrown much light on the monastic history of Scotland, that this house was suppressed previous to the Reformation. In the in-

* On the 26th April, 1209, Randulph, sacerdos de Dunbar, accepted the cure of Eccles.—Chalmers' Cal. ii.

† Knox's Catalogue, 242.

ventory of the late Duke of Queensberry's papers is the following extract:—"Gift by K. James V., under the Great Seal, to the Holy Cross Church at Peebles, of a house in Dunbar, built by Christian Bruce, Countess of Dunbar, and given by her to the brethren of the order of the Holy Trinity, formerly at Dunbar, then translated to Peebles, dated 5th July, 1529." *

The lands belonging to the Trinity friars were acquired by George Hume of Friarsland, ancestor to Hume of Furde. †

This monastery is supposed to have stood in the field called the Friar's Croft. Part of the belfry still remains, which is converted into a pigeon-house, and the ground where it stands has obtained the rural, but less classical, appellation of the Do'cot Park. It is mentioned in the town charter as being situated near the burgh.

At the back of the buildings of Delisle Street, fronting this park, was a pond called the Parson's Pool; and a little farther west, at the foot of the gentle eminence of Knocking-haer, is a stripe of ground called the Priest-fauld Baulk.

A wynd or passage leading to the friary lay betwixt the site of the New Inn and the old manse. An old house situated at the head of this wynd fronted the High Street, and contained a niche in the wall, once the sentinel station of the blessed virgin. The marks of a gateway may also be distinguished at the foot of the minister's garden, on the left of which is the remains of an alms-house, about the size of a watch-box. This was probably either the place styled in ancient charters, "the Blessed Lady's Wynd," or led to it. Indeed, all the lands lying westward from the church, bounded by the Common, and extending as far as the West Port road, were holy ground, and are designated "the Blessed Virgin's land," "St John the Baptist's land," &c.

* Letter from General Hutton, to W. H. Ritchie, Esq., Dunbar. Besides this letter, the author is indebted to the latter gentleman for many other valuable papers.

† Keith's Catalogue.

### MONASTERY OF CARMELITES.

In 1263 Patrick, seventh Earl of Dunbar (the same year in which he was severely wounded, while leading on his division against the Danes and Norwegians at Largs), founded a monastery for Carmelites, or White Friars at Dunbar.

These personages were the third order of begging friars, and derived their name from Mount Carmel in Syria. They came to Scotland during the reign of Alexander III., and had nine convents. They were called White Friars from the colour of their outer garments.

No vestiges remain to mark where the Carmelites' friary stood. In 1766, when digging a found for the reservoir, some Roman medals were discovered, with the inscription "Judea Captiva." It was conjectured at the time that this was the foundation of a religious house—probably the remains of the Carmelite friary.

### MAISON DE DIEU.

About 1728, the remains of a religious house, vulgarly called "the Maiden Dew," were cleared away to make room for the old Bowling Green, which was situated at the head of the High Street. Keith does not notice this hospital in his catalogue; but the antiquarian zeal of General Hutton has placed its existence beyond doubt. This gentleman, after ransacking the British Museum for information respecting our monastic establishments, discovered a paper among the Harleian MSS., entitled, "An Act anent the College Kirk of Dunbar," wherein a Maison Dieu, or hospital, is distinctly noticed.

The ground immediately adjoining was purchased from Lord Belhaven, and is designated the lands of Maison Dieu in the title-deeds. These hospitals were erected either for receiving strangers or for maintaining poor people.

In 1818, some copper coins were found in the old Bowling Green, marked "C. II., R.," and on the reverse a thistle, with a Scottish motto, which appear to belong to the time of Charles II.

### THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

Collegiate churches were unknown in Scotland till the reign of David II. The first establishment of this kind (according to Chalmers), was founded in Dunbar in 1342, by Patrick, tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, who converted the parochial church into a collegiate form. It was confirmed by William, bishop of St Andrews, and was the first establishment of that kind known in Scotland.*

The constitution of the collegiate church was vested in a dean, an archpriest, and eighteen canons. For their support were assigned, together with its own revenues, the incomes of the chapels of Whittingham, Spot, Stenton, Penshiel (in Lammermoor), and Hetherwick. In addition to these, were annexed the chapels of Linton in East Lothian, and Dunse and Chirnside in Berwickshire, while the founder reserved to himself and his heirs the patronage of the whole. By a new regulation in 1492, the chapels of Dunbar, Pinkerton, † Spot, Belton, Petcokis, Linton, Dunse, and Chirnside, were appointed as prebends to the collegiate church, and, with the exception of Pinkerton, were all settled churches. In Bagimont's Roll, these component parts were thus assessed:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **DEANERY OF HADDINGTON.** | | | |
| Decanatus de Dunbar, | L.13 | 6 | 8 |
| Archiepresbyterus, | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Rectoria de Dunbar, | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Prebendarius de Pinkerton, | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| Rectoria de Spot, | 5 | 6 | 8 |
| Rectoria de Beltoun, | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Rectoria de Petcokis, | 2 | 13 | 4 |
| Rectoria de Linton, | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| **DEANERY OF THE MERSE.** | | | |
| Rectoria de Duns, | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Rectoria de Chirnside, | 4 | 0 | 0 |

* Spotswood says that the college of Dunbar was founded by George Earl of March. He succeeded his father in 1369. These colleges were erected for secular priests, and amply endowed with revenues. The chief person was called the provost, and the college the provostry.

† Master John Fleming was prebendary of Pinkerton on the 20th March, 1478-9. Parl. Rec. Chalmers' Cal.—The chapel stood at the farm-town of Little Pinkerton.

Soon after this arrangement, the chapels of Spot, Stenton, and Hetherwick, were converted into parish churches, yet still remained dependent as prebends of the college.

On the forfeiture of the earldom of March, in 1434-5, the patronage of the church fell to the crown. During the reign of James III. it was enjoyed, with the earldom of Dunbar, by the Duke of Albany. It again reverted to the king, on the forfeiture of his traitorous brother in 1483, and now belongs to the Duke of Roxburgh, as principal heritor of the parish.

The church of Dunbar ceased to be collegiate at the Reformation, in 1560; and while its monasteries were levelled with the ground, it escaped the ravages of religious zeal and popular fury.

This church, as before noticed, was anciently the richest in the deanery of Lothian. With its subordinate chapels, it was valued at 180 merks, a greater valuation than any other church in Scotland could bear at the same period. At the Reformation, the archpriestry of Dunbar was stated at L.80; and the following is a table showing how the stipend was proportioned in 1618:—

DUNBAR STIPEND, PER DECREET OF LOCALITY, 1618; OF VICTUAL, 6½ CHALDERS; OF MONEY, 350 MERKS.

| | Bear. | Wheat | Oats. | Rye. | Pease and Beans | Merks. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Bolls. | Bolls. | Bolls. | Bolls. | Bolls. | | | |
| Dunbar Parsonage, | 25 | 10 | 0 | 10 | 5 | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Pinkerton, ..... | 12 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| Belton, ..... | 6 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 4 | 5 |
| Broxmouth, ..... | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 8 | 11 |
| Community Tiends by Spot, ..... | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Archpriestry, ..... | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 140 | 0 | 0 |
| Sum, ..... | 47 | 21 | 21 | 10 | 5 | 311 | 0 | 0 |

The surplus number of merks above the 311 would probably go for the communion elements. In 1755, the minister's stipend was L.98, 1s 10d; in 1798, it rose to L.223, 4s 9d, and has since been considerably augmented.

A church, partly Gothic and partly Saxon, it may easily be conceived, was ill adapted for accommodation: and accordingly, in 1779, the old church underwent a thorough repair. It was ceiled in the roof, new floored, part of the long body cut off by a partition, and regularly seated.

This venerable fabric had all the appearance of being the workmanship of different ages. It was built in the form of a cross, measuring 123 feet in length, while it was only from 20 to 25 feet broad. The transept or cross aisle measured 83 feet.

The west end of the church, beyond the transept, was probably the ancient chapel of Dunbar. The entry lay through a Saxon arch—

> On ponderous columns, short and low,
> Built ere the art was known,
> By pointed aisle and shafted stalk,
> The arcades of an alley'd walk,
> To emulate in stone;

while the east end of the church, including the south aisle of the transept, was a species of the Norman or Gothic style.

The case of the old tower, which was 50 feet high, was built in the form of a square, with four turrets like watch-towers on the top. A slender steeple rose about thirty feet above this tower, which was built by John Cochran, town-mason, in 1739, and consequently formed no part of the Saxon tower.

As the interior of churches, as well as of domestic buildings, had been much improved within the present century, this edifice had long been found inconvenient for a modern audience. Early in 1818, plans and estimates were taken in for a new church, which was appointed to be built on the site of the old one, and the fate of this venerable fabric was thereby sealed. The last sermon preached within its walls was on Sunday the 7th March,

1819, by the Rev. John Jaffray, present minister of Dunbar, then assistant to Dr Carfrae, to a crowded audience. The text was in Psalm lxxxiv. verse 1.

In taking down the east part of the church, which is supposed to have been the main body of that founded in 1342, several sculptured stones were found, that had been used in building the foundation and otherwise, which strengthens the supposition that this was only an addition to the old Saxon church of the eleventh century.

Several sepulchres were discovered near the altar, and in the body of the church; but they contained nothing but a few scattered fragments of their mouldered tenants.

### THE NEW CHURCH.

The foundation stone of the new church was laid on the afternoon of Saturday, the 17th April, 1819, by Provost Hume, in presence of the magistrates, some of the heritors, and a vast assemblage of people. This stone is situated in the north-east corner of the building, in the cavity of which a small bottle, hermetically sealed, is deposited, containing the coins of the realm, and a list of the heritors and magistrates.

Mr James Gillespie, Edinburgh, was the architect. The work was contracted for by Messrs M'Watt & Dickson, of Haddington, at L.4990; but it cost about L.1000 more before the burial-vaults and other additions were completed. One fifth of the expense was paid by the town of Dunbar, and the rest by the heritors. The church is a handsome building, in the Gothic style, built with a red stone, brought from a quarry near Bowerhouses, and is capable of containing 1800 hearers. From the steeple, which is about ninety feet high, five counties may be distinguished.

The church was opened on the 20th April, 1821, before it was quite finished, for the ordination of Mr Jaffray, by the Rev. David Logan of Innerwick, who preached and presided upon the occasion. The very Rev. Principal Baird introduced the

minister to his congregation on the Sunday ensuing, and preached two hours and a-half to a highly-delighted and excessively crowded audience, from these words—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel;" after which, the Rev. John Jaffray addressed his parishioners in a discourse from the text—"We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord." *

## THE MONUMENT.

The first object which arrests the stranger's attention on entering Dunbar church is a superb monument, immediately behind the pulpit, erected to the memory of George Home, Earl of Dunbar, third son of Alexander Home of Manderston. This nobleman was in great favour with James VI., and successively held the offices of high-treasurer of Scotland, and chancellor of the exchequer in England; and, while in the latter capacity, he was created a peer of his native land. It was on him that "the British Solomon" chiefly depended for the restoration of prelacy in Scotland; and, at the parliament held at Perth, in 1606, he had the skill to carry through the act for the restoration of the estate of bishops. He was on several occasions high-commissioner to the General Assembly, wherein acts were passed unacceptable to the presbyterians; † and, as a matter of course, drew down the rancour of that party. His death took place suddenly at Whitehall, on the 29th January, 1611, when he was about to solemnize his daughter's marriage

* The new church was opened on this occasion by the Rev. Principal Baird, and the good nature of the parishioners forms a striking contrast to the tumult raised on the ordination of Mr Pyott in 1733. After Principal Baird had ended his introductory discourse, an old lady declared, "that she put on her kail-pat when she left home; that her bit meat would be boiled to *tavers;* but," added she, "it made nae odds, if he kept her lang, she did'nt weary; and if the meat would not *eat,* it would *sup!*"

The church was completed, and opened for public worship on the 16th of September following. Mr Dods of Belford preached in the forenoon, and Mr Jaffray in the afternoon from these words—"This is the house of God; this is the gate of heaven."

† Bribery, as well as artifice, was practised on the members of this assembly, which obtained the name of the *angelical* assembly, in allusion to the names of the coins distributed on the occasion. Sir James Balfour

with Lord Walden in a magnificent manner. A writer in the "Biographia Scoticana, or Scots Worthies," imputes this circumstance to the judgment of heaven, while Sir John Scott, in his political epitome of slander, ascribes it to some poisoned sugar-tablets, which were given him by Secretary Cecil, for expelling the cold.*

"His body," says Crawfurd, "being embalmed, and put into a coffin of lead, was sent down to Scotland, and with great solemnity interred in the collegiate church of Dunbar, where his executors erected a very noble and magnificent monument of various coloured marble, with a statue as large as life."

The monument is twelve feet broad at the base, and twenty-six feet in height. Above the pedestal, Lord Dunbar is represented, kneeling on a cushion, in the attitude of prayer, with a Bible open before him. He is clad in armour, which is seen under his knight's robes, and on his left arm is the badge of the order of the garter—head uncovered. Two knights in armour stand on each side as supporters. The figure on the right bears a shield, emblazoned with three parrots, and at his feet are a sword, halbert, helmet, and mace; while the figure on the left has a shield with a white lion rampant, on a green field, and at his right foot a lion's head and battle-axe, and on the left a

says, the Earl of Dunbar distributed among the ministers "40,000 merks to facilitate the matter and obtain their suffrages." Nothing, it was said, was to be seen about Glasgow, for some time after the assembly, but *angels*. A travelling pauper, named James Reid, who had been there in the course of his profession, having heard what a country minister got for his vote, railed on him as a fool for selling his Master for *two* angels, when he (the pauper) had got *three* for nothing.—M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville.

* Be this as it may, the Earl of Dunbar, like the generality of courtiers, was well versed in Machiavellism. Andrew Melville, the celebrated scholar, seems to have been duped by him. When a prisoner in the Tower for non-conformity, he says, in a letter to his nephew—"Through the kind offices of Sempill, I now enjoy more healthful air, though still confined in the Tower. I am put in hopes that I shall have greater liberty within a month or two, on the return of *sine quo nihil*; (Earl of D.) You know whom I mean. Your friend, forsooth, who did not even deign to salute you lately. Sure you admire the prudence and caution of the hero."

gauntlet. Immediately beneath the arch of the niche, the following inscription is cut on a tablet of black marble:—

"HERE LYETH THE BODY OF THE REIGHT
HOBLE. GEORGE EARL OF DVNBAR, BARON
HOWME OF BARWICK, LORD HEIGH TRESSR.
OF SCOTLAND, KNIGHT OF THE MOST
NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE
OF HIS MATTE. MOST HOBLE. PRIVIE COVNSELL,
WHOE DEPTED THIS LIFE THE XXIX DAY
OF IANNVARY, MDCXI."

Above the knights in armour are two female figures. The one represents Justice, and the other represents Wisdom in the person of Minerva with her owl. Betwixt these figures, and immediately above the cupola, Fame, in the form of a cherub, sounds her trumpet; while on the opposite side, Peace, with her olive wand, sheds a laurel wreath on his lordship.

Above the last figures, in the centre of the pediment, the arms of Home are quartered, viz. a lion rampant on a green field in the first and fourth quarters (Home); in the second quarter three parrots (as representative of the family of Pepdie of Dunglas); and in the third quarter three green escutcheons, in a silver field (as representative of Hay of Broxmouth). The shield is adorned with a helmet, and is supported by two lions *sejant*, with a tree at their backs, and for crest a horse's head and neck.

In a vault immediately beneath the monument, the body is deposited in a leaden coffin, which had been sadly mutilated by barbarous visitors.*

"The sculpture of this monument," Mr R. Chambers observes, "is unequalled in Scotland; and we compliment the inhabitants of the place on the possession of so beautiful and rare a work of art.

There are only other four monuments of the kind in Scotland, that of Lord Scoon in the aisle at the palace of Scoon; Sir

* The monument was repaired in 1820, by Mr St George, for which the Duke of Roxburghe contributed L.100.

George Bruce's at Culross; Archbishop Sharpe's at St Andrews; and the Duke of Queensberry's at Durisdeer. The first and second are of the same age with Lord Dunbar's, but neither of them is so elegant, while the second is decidedly inferior; the third is in poorer taste, having been reared in a time when the art was not so highly cultivated; and as for the Duke of Queensberry, with his Ramillies wig and rolled stockings, it is not to be mentioned in comparison with the monument in the text.

### PRELATIC PROCEEDINGS.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century there was as great a struggle between episcopacy and presbyterianism in Scotland as their had been formerly betwixt the latter and popery, and which led to fields of blood "in either Charles's reign." With a view of gradually introducing prelacy, it was proposed that "constant moderators" should be admitted to the General Assembly; in other words, that bishops should be moderators of provincial assemblies, and that the moderators of presbyteries should be constant members of the General Assembly. This led to a deal of cavaling in the church; and while some obeyed willingly, others yielded through dread. In the month of March, 1607, several presbyteries were charged, under the pain of horning, to admit *constant* moderators. The commissioners from the secret council to the Synod of Lothian were—Walter Lord Blantyre, Sir Thomas Hamilton of Monkland, and John Preston of Pennycuik. The Presbyteries of Peebles, Haddington, and Dalkeith, delayed accepting; but Edinburgh, Dunbar, and Linlithgow, were persuaded to satisfy the king's commissioners.

Every art was used to assimilate the Scotican church as nearly as possible to that of England. Mr John Home of Dunbar, Mr George Grier of St Martin's, Haddington, and four other ministers, were summoned to appear before the high commission at Edinburgh, on the 26th January, for not preaching on holidays, and of not administering the communion (kneeling) agreeable to the form prescribed by the Perth Assembly. Few others at-

tended except the Bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and the Isles. The various ways in which the conscientious presbyterians were now persecuted by the lordly prelates, at the instance of the British Solomon, who was a pope in everything but the name, were truly ridiculous. The introduction of the Five Articles was carried by a small majority, several of whom voted by proxy, which was considered a new mode of procedure in Scotland. Sir Robert Hepburn and the Laird of Preston were commissioners for the county of Haddington; Mr James Cockburn, for the burgh of Haddington; George Purves, for Dunbar; and George Bailie, for North Berwick.

The grounds of the Five Articles, to which so much importance was attached, were—that communicants should celebrate the Lord's Supper on their knees; that, in the event of sickness, the pastor might administer the sacrament in the invalid's house; that children should be baptised the first Lord's day after their birth—and, if possible, openly in the church; that children of eight years of age should be catechised by the priest, and presented to the bishop for his blessing; that the festival days commemorative of the nativity and sufferings of Christ should be observed. This was followed by a proclamation against holding conventicles, or meeting privately for the purposes of preaching and exhortation; a measure which afterwards paved the way for the downfall of the house of Stuart.

George Home, Earl of Dunbar, who had been the chief instrument employed in enforcing the new discipline of the presbyterian church, died at Whitehall, on the last day of January, 1611. The death of the Earl of Dunbar did not heal the wounds of the church; but James, from the plausible duplicity of his conduct, succeeded in quieting the people. Charles, urged by his own bigotted and inflexible character, went a degree of despotism beyond his father, while the mercenary and unprincipled ministers of Charles II. hurried the drop-scene of the drama of persecution, from the ashes of which religious toleration arose with healing in its wings.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the measures pursued by the two Charles's, which have been already amply detailed.

The following are the names of the ministers in East Lothian who were nonconformists to prelacy in 1633, and who were either banished, confined, or turned out of their parishes:—

Presbytery of Haddington—Mr Robert Ker of Haddington, John Macghie of Dirleton, and Thomas Kirkaldy of Tranent. Presbytery of Dunbar—Mr John Baird of Innerwick. Presbytery of Dalkeith—Mr John Sinclair of Ormiston.

Mr David Calderwood, the eminent historian of the church, and who was afterwards minister of Pencaitland, was, along with others, imprisoned and banished for opposing the religious and dogmatical opinions of James VI.

In reforming abuses, it seems to be the fate of mankind to rush from one extreme to another—from a state of callous indifference to one of punctilious severity. The penances and absolutions of the Romish church were scarcely more absurd and antichristian than the rigour and cruelty with which a deviation from the path of virtue was now visited on those unfortunate wretches who incurred the displeasure of our native church. Idolatry and licentious conduct incurred the penalty of banishment, the pillory, or burning on the cheek.* We shall merely notice one or two cases. In 1691, Alexander Marshall did penance on the pillar of repentance in Prestonpans church, for fornication; and Marion Scott was imprisoned in the steeple-head till she made confession of the same crime. Persons convicted were compelled to fall on their knees before God, and confess their sins to the kirk session! A man of the name of Seton did penance one year and one day, arrayed in sackcloth, at the church door of Prestonkirk, on the going in and out of the people attending the service. When the present church was erected in 1770, some waggish mason built the robes of sackcloth, with which the foolish delinquents were wont to be invested, into the steeple. It was probably the same irreverant

* Buik of the Kirk of Canagait—1564.

vandal whom Mr Baron Hepburn accuses of having broken a supposed statue of St Baldred, which lay in the churchyard, in pieces, which he intended to have placed in the church wall for preservation. We make these remarks in akin to what we have to say in regard to the penetiancy system of Dunbar. The session register of Dunbar contains the following entries:—

July 27, 1712.—This day the minister (Rev. T. Wood), had been ordaining elders, when they were "exhorted to walk exampelary in their good behaviour before the people, and to be carefull to delete scandalous persons or such as break the Sabbath-day. Morover he read to them a minute left be his predecessors, mentioning how dreadful a disaster had fallen upon the people of this place for breaking the Lord's day, ordains the same to be regarat. Qch is as followeth:—

"Mr Simpson, minister of Dalkeith, son to Mr Andrew Simpson, minister at Dunbar, in his exposition of the XXXII. Psalm, hath these words—A fearfull judgement of God fell furth at Dunbar, about the year of God 1577, qrof I was an eyewitness. My father, Mr Andrew Simpson, of good memory, being minister thereof, qho, going to the church, saw a thousand boats setting their nets on the Sabbath-day. He wept and feared that God would not suffer such contempt. It being a most calm day as ever was seen at that season;—at midnight, when they went forth to draw their nets, the wind arose so fearfully, that it drowned eight score and ten boats, so that there was reckoned in the coast-side fourteen score of widows."

"Sunday, 3rd April, 1659.—Margaret Home, rebuked for her fall in fornication, anno 1651, with John Bahill, trooper in General Cromwell's regiment, and paid penalties L.3 Scots."

"August 7, 1709.—It is enacted this day, for the better observing the Lord's day, that two elders, with ane officer, go through the town after sermon in the afternoon, and reprove such as they find going or parading either in the streets, shore, or castle, or any who sitt at their doors intertaining idle discourses, and reprove such; and to bring in a list of those who will not refraine."

"August 29, 1710.—The elders, whose dutie it is to search the town, found severall persons in Janet Hunter's, drinking a glass of twopeney beer and smoaking, the tyme of divine service. The persons were cited before the session, and confessed they were humbly sorrie for such a heinaiss breach sf the Lord's day; but they declared they wauld drink no more twopenny beer, or smoak tobacco again on Sundays, so they were absolved."

"29th March, 1710.—A proclamation for a fast to be keept on Wednesday, that the Lord might prosper our armys against the blody Frenchmen, was read."

"Nov. 1710.—Two hundred and sixty pounds Scots was collected at the church-door of Dunbar, for erecting schools in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland."

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1755, Feb. 12. | To erecting a new stool of repentence, | L.1 | 0 | 4 | |
| Aug. 3. | Altering ditto, | 0 | 3 | 10½ | |

1763, March 24.—The session purchased 100 bolls of oatmeal, at 15s per boll, for the relief of the poor. It was dealt out at 9d per peck.

The church did not rest satisfied with reforming the domestic morals of the people, but turned its attention to their popular amusements, some of which, however absurd, were at least harmless.

Among the first religious spectacles exhibited were representations of dumb show, with short speeches intermingled, representing the most interesting scenes in the life of our Saviour. These representations, from the nature of the subject, acquired the name of *Mysteries*, in which allegorical personages, such as Sin and Death, were introduced. By degrees dramatic pieces were formed from such personifications, and these were entitled *Moral Plays* or *Moralities*. In the course of time humorous subjects were introduced; and hence the distinctions of tragedy and comedy arose. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, these performances became so popular and common that the church complained of them as a nuisance. In the houses of the nobility the chaplain was commonly the author of these holy plays, from which they got the appellation of *Clerk's Plays*, and the menials of the family or retainers, were the performers. The taste for clerk's plays prevailed to a considerable extent in the burghs, particularly at Haddington. In the last sermon which George Wishart preached in that church, in 1544, he inveighs violently against the people for their love of these amusements, which it appears from his observation were attended by thousands of persons, while the reformer could not obtain a hundred auditors.

The *Abbot of Unreason*, who was also styled the *Lord of Misrule*, presided over Christmas gambols with dictatorial authority, and with an address or epilogue closed those scenes of festivity. He sometimes assumed a farcical character in the interlude, and in the garb of a dignified clergyman, entertained the rabble with his ceremonies. Our present *guisards* or masks, during the daft days (who still have their Judas), are the only remains of these mummeries.

The Duke of York (James VII.), as if he had sought by the gaiety of novel sports to make the people forget the real grievances of his administration, was the first that introduced a regular company of comedians into Scotland. It was about the same time that he introduced the iniquitous Test Act, which might be a good reason for the presbyterians long looking with no complacent eye upon the stage. But after the clergy had railed against the stage upwards of a century and a half, it was a matter of no small mortification to them to behold a play written by one of their own order, acted in presence of several of their number, and received with universal applause. This was the tragedy of Douglas, written by Mr John Home, minister of Athelstaneford.

We must pass from these subjects, having merely stated the conflicting opinions in regard to religion and morality at this period.

It is not the province of this work to enter into any minute details of the various schisms which have from time to time agitated our national church; for

"Who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

But we shall, as briefly as possible, notice the denominations which have sprung from them. About the year 1732, Ebenezer Erskine and a few ministers, having openly decried patronage and other acts of the General Assembly, came under the censure of that body, and were expelled from the Scottish kirk. The expulsion of these individuals laid the foundation of the Secession Church, which now extends over the greater part of Scotland, and of which, latterly, the celebrated Rev. Alexander Fletcher, in London, took the lead.

At Dunbar, the Burghers, or Secession Church (connected with the Associate Synod), was established in 1766. Their first minister was the Rev. John Henderson, who died in 1816, and was succeeded by the Rev. Alexander Jack. The minister's stipend was originally L.70, including L.10 for communion ele-

ments, with a free house and garden. The present meeting-house, which accommodates 700 hearers, was built in 1814.

The Anti-Burghers erected a meeting-house at East Barns in 1763. The Rev. Robert Cunningham of Balgonie, in Fife, was the first minister of this infant establishment. Upon his demise, the Rev. Andrew Bayne was chosen to the vacant charge, and in 1820 the place of worship was transferred to Dunbar, a new meeting-house having been built for the accommodation of the congregation. Mr Bayne continued to discharge his clerical duties until prevented by indisposition, when, in 1828, the Rev. John Scott was ordained his assistant and successor.

Dr James Hamilton, a physician, whom we formerly had occasion to mention, and Mr Andrew Affleck, tenant in Chesterfield, formed a connection here with the Wesleyan Methodists in 1752, and a chapel was built in 1764. The Rev. William Ellis was their first stationary preacher. This is the oldest congregation of the kind in Scotland ; and here John Wesley, on his visit to Scotland, pour'd forth, like another Spurgeon, his pulpit thunders. In consequence of the popularity of some of the preachers, it was found necessary to enlarge the edifice, which now contains 300 sittings, at the cost (including the additional ground) of L.283.

The exertions of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had early in the present century contributed towards printing editions of the Bible, or part of it, into no less than twenty-six different dialects or languages, seventeen of which were spoken on the continent of Europe, led to the formation of a similar society in Edinburgh. Stimulated with the same fervour, the Dunbar Missionary and Tract Society was instituted in December, 1812, and a Sabbath-School Society was formed in 1819 ; but it was about forty years earlier that Sunday schools were established in the place.

The next object that engaged the attention of the religious world was the church-extension scheme in Scotland. In furtherance of these views, the East Lothian Society for Church

Extension was established in 1837, which led to the erection of St John's Church at Haddington, and the *quoad sacra* church at Belhaven, for Dunbar, in 1839. This church was opened for public worship in 1840. The Rev. William Sorley (now of the Free Church, Selkirk) was its first minister. He was succeeded in 1844 by the Rev. James Dodds (now of the Free Church, Dunbar). The building cost L.1690, and has sittings for 650 hearers.

We now come to a new epoch of the church, unparalleled since the days of Ralph Erskine. In 1785, the law of church patronage was apparently agitated for the first time in the burghs. This spirit, although it passed away for a time, was not allowed to slumber, and for a long period the General Assembly was divided by two parties, of which the right of patronage formed the grand touchstone. This feeling communicating itself to the laity, a body sprung up, under the title of Non-Intrusionists, with a view to maintain what they considered the rights of the church, independent of the control of the civil power. These sentiments becoming extremely popular, ultimately led to a violent disruption of the church, when about 250 parishes were vacated by their ministers, under the following circumstances. On the 18th May, 1843, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland having met as usual in St Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, before making up its roll, David Welsh, D.D., the old moderator, read a protest, signed by 120 ministers and 72 elders, against the constitution of the Assembly, in consequence of the rejection by the Legislature of the claim of right adopted by the previous General Assembly. A copy of the protest being then delivered to the clerk, the protesters left the church, and with their adherents proceeded to Tanfield, Canonmills, where they formed themselves into "the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland," and choose Thomas Chalmers, D.D., as their moderator.

The church at Belhaven was occupied by the Free Church congregation of Dunbar till 1850, when the present church was

opened on the 1st of December, by the Rev. Dr Duff of Calcutta. The edifice (from a design by Thomas Hamilton, architect, Edinburgh) cost about L.1660, including about L.200 for the site (the old Bowling Green), purchased from the Earl of Lauderdale. It contains sittings for upwards of 600—the seats *free* to members of the congregation. The Rev. James Dodds (formerly of Humbie, under the old *regime*) is now the pastor.

### THE ROMISH CHURCH.

Owing to the influx of Irish into the county, a chapel connected with the diocese of Edinburgh has been opened at Haddington. Their present pastor is the Rev. Mr Prentergast, who occasionally preaches at Dunbar.

### THE BAPTIST CHAPEL.

The Baptists opened a meeting-house in Dunbar, under the name of the "Ebenezer Chapel," in 1842, of which Mr M'Lean was pastor, and Mr Porter, Innerwick, his coadjutor.

### RE-OPENING OF THE BELHAVEN CHURCH.

This church was originally built as a *quoad sacra* church, and occupied by the Free Church till 1850, when it was shut up, in consequence of the decision of the House of Lords, that it became the property of the Established Church. Under the auspices of the Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, it was re-opened on Sunday, August 22nd, 1858, by the Rev. William H. Gray, of Lady Yester's Church, Edinburgh.

FREE CHURCH, DUNBAR.

## CHAPTER II.

I see nothing now
That minds me of old times, except the stones
In the churchyard.

SOUTHEY.

### THE CHURCHYARD.

HAVING spoken of the church, we must now notice that "bourne from which no traveller returns." A public footpath lay through Dunbar churchyard, which led to the road to Spott, thus converting the resting-place of the dead into a common thoroughfare, the denizens little dreaming that here the disciples of Burke and Hare pursued a lucrative trade.

It was not till about 1819 that the people became aware that such a practice existed as violating the mansions of the dead, which, in the neighbourhood of the great medical school of Edinburgh, had been carried on to a considerable extent. The merit of this discovery was left to the police-officer of East Linton, and some of the inhabitants of the village (in consequence of some private information they obtained from some rival body-stealers), when some *resurrection men* were detected at Prestonkirk in lifting the body of a young woman who had been recently interred. After this discovery, watch-houses were built, and mort-safe societies and associations for the protection of the dead formed throughout the county of East Lothian, and such unhallowed thoroughfares stopped.

We have often thought of taking a ramble through the churchyards of Haddingtonshire, for the purpose of making a selection of remarkable epitaphs, similar to the plan of Monteith's "Theatre of Mortality," which was published at Edinburgh in

1712. Such a selection would excite a smile, as well as draw a tear. We have already noticed the splendid monument erected to the memory of the Earl of Dunbar in the church. We shall now notice that of Professor Stevenson, of which the following is a translation from the Latin inscription, by Monteith:—

EPITAPH.

"To the sacred dust, here reposed, of his most famous and most dear father, Mr ANDREW STEVENSON; first, for thirty years, a most famous professor of philology and philosophy in the college of Edinburgh; thereafter, for the space of twenty-five years, most faithful minister at the church of Dunbar (to whom the short dawning of a natural life began to appear, or he was born, October 29th, 1588, and the noonday of eternal life began to shine, or who died, December 13th, 1664). Mr Archibald Stevenson, doctor of medicine, of the defunct's eight children (whereof Mr Thomas, James, and Jonet, rest here at their father's feet), only surviving with his sister Agnes, drenched in tears, have dedicate and consecrate this homely tomb.

"Here Mr Stevenson lies, of high renown,
To learning a great ornament and crown;
Full five-and-fifty years he was in charge,
And wisely did all offices discharge;
In youth, the school difficulties he broke,
And, in his fresh old age, himself betook
To divine eloquence; which did extol
His reputation, and enrich his soul.
Who seeks a crown of life, let this man be,
For his good life, a pattern unto thee."

The tablet was placed in the wall, on the right of the door leading into a roofed aisle, on the south-east side of the old collegiate church, which, in taking down the wall, was splintered by some ignorant vandal.

ON ADAM WATSON, ESQ. OF PRESS, AN EMINENT MERCHANT.

"The bright example of his generous mind,
Whose godlike impulse was to serve mankind."

ON A LITERARY PERSON.

"In memory of Thomas Edward Ritchie, historian and barrackmaster, Belhaven. Obit 1810."

Ritchie was a man of considerable literary talents, but of excessive vanity. He acted as amanuensis for a few years to James, eighth Earl of Lauderdale, who was distinguished for his theoretical writings, but was dismissed in consequence of his

petulance. His principal production was the "Life of David Hume," the historian, which was published in 1807. As a proof of his vanity, while engaged on this work the windows of his apartments appeared as illuminated; and in regard to his dress, he wore the Windsor uniform, a blue coat, with red facings.

Ritchie translated a deistical volume from the French, entitled "Ecce Homo," for which he was munificently rewarded—published in London by a licentious bookseller. Like David Hume, he did not die what some considered a philosopher's death, but by a most deplorable accident. During the reign of George III., on the 4th of June, it was customary in Dunbar to drink some glasses of wine on the High Street, to the king's health, and all the rest of the royal family, and in the evening a party of the loyal burgesses met in Lorimer's Inn (now the St George) for the same purpose. Ritchie was one of the company, and, according to my father's account, who was present (merely to show his countenance to the house, as he was no wine-bibber), he was shocked at Ritchie's immoral expressions. I am not aware that Ritchie was an intemperate man in regard to drinking, but he returned to his lodgings very tipsy. He then occupied the apartments of a house at the foot of the High Street, three stories high, the ground flat of which is now the Inspector's office. Finding himself sick, he pulled up the window for the purpose of vomiting, and losing his balance, fell to the street. His groans attracted the notice of the inhabitants. He lingered for a few days, and then closed his deistical career.

ON LIEUT. S. WYLDE, R.N.

"Sacred to the memory of Lieut. SYDENHAM WYLDE, R.N.; WILLIAM LUCAS, chief boatman of the Coast Guard Service; PETER DARG, DAVID DARG, WILLIAM MILLER, and WILLIAM CLEMENTS, seamen, who lost their lives on the 20th August, 1845, in bravely and devotedly, but, alas! unsuccessfully, endeavouring to rescue a wrecked fisherman from a rock at the entrance of the harbour. This tablet was erected by the community of Dunbar and vicinity."

## CHAPTER III.

### THE MINISTERS OF DUNBAR.—THE SCHOOLS, ETC.

COLUMBA DUNBAR, a descendant of the Earls of Moray, was dean of the church of Dunbar in 1411. He is designated, Decanus ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Dunbar, penultimo Februarii 1411, when he was promoted to the see of Moray.

He was bishop of that place in 1429; and in 1433 a safe-conduct was granted him by the King of England, to pass through his dominions on his way to Rome, with thirty servants in his retinue; and again, on the 10th May, 1434, he was permitted to return, when on his way to attend the council of Basil. Columbia died, in his castle of Spynie, in 1435, and was buried in the isle of St Thomas the Martyr (Becket).

JOHN MANDERSTON was canon of the college church of Dunbar in 1567, and was one of those appointed by the Archbishop of St Andrew's to attend the court on a divorce sued for by Lady Jean Gordon against the Earl of Bothwell, whilst Queen Mary was detained at Dunbar.

In 1566, the queen presented GEORGE HOME, son to George Home, the laird of Broxmouth, to be parson of Pinkerton. In 1569, he was translated to be rector of Dunbar, which he afterwards resigned in favour of JASPER HOME of Lawfield.

ANDREW SIMPSON appears to have been the first minister of Dunbar after the Reformation. He was originally master of the school of Perth, where be taught Latin with much success. He had sometimes under his charge 300 boys, many of them sons of the principal nobility. He left Perth at the Reformation in 1560, and became minister of Dunning and

Cargill, from which he was translated, in 1564, to Dunbar, where he sustained the double office of master of the grammar-school and minister of the parish, which was not an uncommon circumstance at that period. He was the author of Latin Rudiments, which were taught in the schools till the time of Ruddiman, and were much esteemed by that excellent scholar. It does not appear that this venerable person understood the Greek language ; but he was careful that his son Patrick should not labour under the same defect. He was sent to the University of Cambridge, where he made great proficiency, and after his return to Scotland, taught Greek at Spott, near Dunbar.* The conversion of Mr Simpson to the reformed faith is ascribed to the influence of Sir David Lindsay's poems, in alienating the pupils and their master from popery.†

In 1570, Mr Simpson was called to attend the Rev. John Kello, minister of Spott, in his sickness, who was shortly after convicted and executed for the unnatural murder of his wife. This unhappy person having related a remarkable dream he had had to Mr Simpson, the latter had no hesitation in applying to him the language of Nathan unto David—*Thou art the man!* This struck so deep into the culprit's heart, that he made instant confession ; and when on the scaffold, he ascribed the disclosure of this horrible deed to the soul-piercing discernment of this pious priest, in these memorable words—"Ther was not small support in the mouth of some faythfull brethren, to bring me to this confessione of my awin offence. Bot, above all, Mr Andro Symsone, minister of Dumbar, did so lyvlie rype foorth

* Andrew Simpson had five sons, who, like their father, distinguished themselves in asserting the rights of the presbyterian church against the lordly encroachments of prelacy. In 1564, when there was an express charge given by the king to the clergy, either to acknowledge Adamson as Archbishop of St Andrews, or loss their benefices, Patrick Simpson opposed the order with all his power, although the archbishop was his uncle by the mother's side. He was one of the forty-two ministers who signed a protest against the proceedings of the parliament at Perth, and with his own hands delivered it to the Earl of Dunbar.—See "Biographia Scoticana."

† M'Crie's Life of Knox.

the inward cogitationes of my hert, and discover my mynd so planelie, that I persuaded myself God spak in him ; and besydis vtheris notable coniecturies which he trulie dedvced befoir my eyes, he remembrit me of ane dreame, which in my grit seikness did appearandlie present the self . . . . at this tyme did God move my hart to acknowledge the horror of my awin offence, and how far Sathan had obteinit victorie ower me." *

Mr Simpson's prophetic intelligence was no less remarkable than his skill in oneirology. In 1577, when the fishing boats were wrecked off Dunbar, he prognosticated that dreadful calamity.†

Alexander Home of Houndwood succeeded Mr Simpson, on the 13th September, 1582, and held the situation till 21st May, 1601. He died in December, 1623, and appears to have been a half brother of Sir George Home of Broxmouth.

On his demission, Mr James Home was appointed to the

* Bannatyne's Trans. Scot.—Mr John Kello was libelled in the indictment as "committeer of the murthour of vmqle Margret Thomesoune, his spous ; committit be him within his awin lugeing in the toun of Spot for the tyme, be strangling of hir with ane towale, vpoun the xxiiij day of September last bypast, befoir noyne.

"Sentence.—For the quhilk he was adjugeit be dome pronunceit, to be hangit to the deid, and thaireftir his body to be cassin in ane fyre and brint in assis ; and his gudis and geir quhatsumeuir (pertening to our soueran lord) to be confiscat, &c."—Pitcairn's Crim. Trials.

The above circumstance is alluded to by Nicol Burne, the Popish professor of St Andrews, in his "Admonition to the Antichristian Ministers in the Deformit Kirk of Scotland" (which was published at Paris in 1581), in his "Disputation with Certain Ministers of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland : "—

"Symson of Dumbar, quhat sall I say of thee ?
I know thow waittis Lieutenentis place to have ;
I grant thy wisdom soleid for to be,
As Kellochis dreame bearis witnes ouer the lave.
Sa may thow baldlie ane hear place cum crave,
War not thou seis full ill the band to leid :
The less experience hes thow thy flock to save :
Kilt up thy connie, to Geneve haist with speid."

Kello's Dying Speech and confession is printed in Bannatyne's Journal. Bartilmo, his son, and Barbara and Bessie Kello, his daughters, got a gift of his escheat.—Reg. Sec. Sig.

† See extracts from the Session Records.

vacant charge, and was styled minister of Dunbar, while the former retained the designation of parson of Dunbar.* He does not appear to have enjoyed this situation long, for Mr MANDERSON was admitted in 1604, and was succeeded by Mr WILLIAM MAXWELL in 1635.

Mr ANDREW STEVENSON appears to have succeeded the latter incumbent. On the authority of his epitaph, which is printed in Monteith's Theatre of Mortality, he was for thirty years "a most famous professor of philology and philosophy in the college of Edinburgh, and thereafter, for the space of twenty-five years, most faithful minister at the church of Dunbar."

The Rev. ANDREW WOOD, son to the Rev. David Wood, by Miss Guthrie, sister to John Guthrie of Guthrie, was minister, first of Spott, and then of Dunbar in 1665; and was created Bishop of the Isles in 1678. He received a dispensation from the king to hold the benefice of Dunbar together with the said bishoprick. He was translated to the see of Caithness in 1680, where he continued till the revolution in 1688. He died at Dunbar in 1695, aged 76 years.

Mr THOMAS WOOD succeeded the Bishop of the Isles in 1681.

Mr JAMES CRAIG was admitted in 1718. He was succeeded by Mr GEORGE LOGAN in 1722, who was afterwards translated to Edinburgh.

Mr ALEXANDER PYOTT was admitted in 1733. The ordination of this gentleman was very unpopular, and the opposition of the congregation was carried with so much virulence, that, on the minister and elders proceeding to the church, they found the people assembled, the doors locked, and themselves excluded. For the purpose of gaining admittance, the session-house window had to be broken open, and as the minister passed along, one of the congregation arose and exclaimed—"Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is as a thief and a robber." Galt introduces a similar anecdote into his Annals

* M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville.

of the Parish. It was on this reverend gentleman that the satirical Memoirs of Mago-Pica were written, by Dr Halyburton, chaplain to the Royal Regiment of Foot, in consequence of some dispute about a soldier's marriage.

Mr GEORGE BRUCE was admitted in 1766, and died in 1794. He drew up the account of Dunbar parish for Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland.

In the ensuing year, the Rev. PATRICK CARFRAE, D.D., was admitted as his successor, being translated from Morham, Presbytery of Haddington. The doctor possessed in an eminent degree all the qualifications requisite to form an accomplished orator. He died, at his retirement of Bowerhouses, on the 5th March, 1822, having previously, on the 4th October, 1820, resigned his benefice in favour of his assistant, the Rev. JOHN JAFFRAY, the present minister, who was ordained 20th April, 1821.

The Presbytery of Dunbar, in the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, comprehends the following parishes, all situated in East Lothian, except Cockburnspath and part of Oldhamstocks, which are in Berwickshire:—

| PARISHES. | PATRONS. |
|---|---|
| Dunbar, | The Duke of Roxburghe. |
| Innerwick, | Lady M. C. N. Hamilton. |
| Oldhamstocks, | James W. Hunter of Thurston. |
| Prestonkirk, | C. D. Ferguson of Hailes. |
| Spott, | James Sprott of Spott. |
| Stenton, | Lady M. C. N. Hamilton. |
| Whitekirk and Tyningham, | Crown and the Earl o Haddington. |
| Whittingham, | Arthur James Balfour of Whittingham. |
| Cockburnspath, | The Crown. |

THE REV. JAMES KIRKWOOD.

"We were a while told that they had an old translation of the Scriptures; and told it till it would appear obstinacy to inquire again. Yet by continued accumulation of questions, we found that the translation was nothing else than the Irish Bible."—Dr S. JOHNSON'S TOUR.

A Library, belonging to the Presbytery of Dunbar, was kept in the old grammer-school, consisting of some hundreds of

volumes, chiefly in Latin, and on theological subjects. To this library, in 1708, the Rev. James Kirkwood, minister of Astwick, in Bedfordshire, bequeathed a number of letters and papers, detailing his efforts, in conjunction with the Hon. Robert Boyle (the celebrated chemist and philosopher), in disseminating the Scriptures in the Irish character throughout the Highlands of Scotland. Five hundred copies of the Irish Bible, by William Beddell, Bishop of Kilmore, were printed in 4to at London, in 1685, at the expense of Mr Boyle. This excellent person presented Mr Kirkwood with 200 copies, one copy of which was sent as a church-bible to each parish in the Highlands, that it might be read to the people in their own language on the Sundays. Mr Kirkwood afterwards printed 3000 copies of the same Bible by private subscription, in the Roman character, and 1000 copies of the New Testament separately, for gratuitous distribution. This edition was printed in small 12mo, by R. Everingham, London, in 1690. Mr Boyle, for the same purpose, printed 6000 catechisms and Prayer Books at his own expense. A library was also established for the clergy in the Highlands by Mr Kirkwood, in 1699, a catalogue of which is preserved in his MS. papers.

Great events frequently spring from simple causes, and the efforts of a few philanthropic individuals have laid the foundation of those societies, which are now established for the propagation of knowledge in every shape, and in ample abundance. A few years after Mr Kirkwood had passed his probationary trials at Haddington, he was called to preach in the Earl of Breadalbane's family in the Highlands, most of the servants of which did not understand Gaelic. It was when here that he beheld the ignorance of the natives. He found the parishes without schools, the people without Bibles, and the clergy with indifferent libraries, and immediately set about the remedy. Fortunately, he was invited to a small living in England by Bishop Burnet, in 1684, and was thence promoted to the rectory of Astwick, where he formed an acquaintance with the honourable gentleman

before mentioned, who was well fitted to aid him in his benevolent projects.* But notwithstanding this happy friendship, he met with the usual discouragements that "flesh is heir to," from the carelessness of friends and the malice of enemies. Amongst other objections to the plan, it was mooted that it would obstruct the extirpation of the Highland language, which the partisans of government devoutly expected to take place in the course of thirty years; but the Gaelic language still exists, and will exist, without any danger to the state. This opposition, however, is a reason assigned by Mr Kirkwood for bequeathing his papers to the care of a public body, that the detail of his efforts might be preserved, and the whispers of calumny, if necessary, refuted. He had been indebted to the schools of Dunbar for his education, and both there and in that neighbourhood he had many friends and relations. This circumstance induced him, at an earlier period, to bestow several books and MSS., with "some other things," on the library. In short, Mr Kirkwood was one of the virtuous obscure—one of those talented individuals who set the secret springs in motion, which afterwards move the weightier machinery of higher men, that they may reap the honour and the reward.

### THE SCHOOLS.

Mr Andrew Simpson, as formerly noticed, held the office of minister-schoolmaster in 1564. There seems to have been a substantial reason for pluralities at this time; for Mr James Carmichael, who held the same office at Haddington in 1572, was only allowed L.40 Scots yearly as stipend, and ten merks to pay his "chalmer maill," with xiid. quarterly from "ilk toun bairn" as school-fee; so that Goldsmith's country curate, with his L.40 sterling, held a lucrative office when contrasted with the presbyterian clergy of this period.

* Dr Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was originally minister of Salton, in East Lothian. On publishing his History of the Reformation, he also was indebted to the munificence of Mr Boyle in bringing that work forward.

After an interval of thirty years, we find a notice of ANDREW DISHINGTON, schoolmaster of Dunbar, in the Records of the Presbytery of Haddington. "The act of the last synodall assembly, giving the presbyterie commission to try Andro Dischingtoun, schoolmaster of Dunbar, not only in his hability to travell in the ministry, but also to teache ane grammar-schoole; being presentit to the presbyterie, the brethren ordainit him to cum heir yis day aucht dayes, and for beginning of his tryall to teache ane piece of the first book of the Georgyckes of Virgill, at the beginning yrof, to try quhither he be able to teache ane grammer-schoole or not."—Sept. 4, 1594. "It was ordainit be the presbyterie, that the haill schoolmrs wtin yair bounds sould be chargit to compeir befoir thame, that thay myt not only knaw how yai wer abil to instruct the yowt, bot also charge thame to keip the exercise, that yai myt be the better frequented with the heids of religioun."—June 2, 1596.

ALEXANDER HOME, the grammarian, appears to have been master of the grammar-school of Dunbar in 1615. He was principal master of the High School of Edinburgh from 1596 to 1606, when he removed to Prestonpans. He left the latter place in 1615, and appears as schoolmaster of Dunbar, in witness to a deed, June 24, 1623, and to another in November 1627. He published a Latin Rudiments and Grammar, which it appears were in much repute, for, in 1614, it was ordained by the Town Council of Edinburgh that the Dunbar Rudiments "be onlie teached, as maist approved and ressavit in the cuntrie." This grammar was likewise appointed to be used in all schools, both by the Privy Council and Parliament. Home also revised "Bellum Grammaticale," a humorous tragi-comedy, in which the different parts of speech are arrayed in opposite sides, in a contest concerning the respective claims of the noun and verb to priority. He left behind him, in manuscript, a compendium of Buchanan's History (in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.), and a grammatical tract.*

* Life of Andrew Melville.

The following extracts from "School Regulations," adopted by the burgh in 1679, give a view of the discipline and usages then in force:—

"Whatever public damage ye schollars doe, either to glass windows (especially about the church or schoole), or by brakeing ye dasks, locks, or any thing in the schoole, they are to make up the same; and if the particular persone cannot be found out, then are they all to contribute for ye damage done, and if hee be afterwards knowen, then to receive double punishment.

"Whomsomever shall, through contempt, turne fugitives, it shall be lawfull for the masters to cause haile them to schoole, and punish them as he shall judge convenient.

"All those that refuse to submitt to discipline, but maliciously rebell against their masters, ye masters, with the greatest severitie, are to make them ane example to the rest; and if the stubborne parties be too strong, then to call for help from ye magistrate.

"If children may be wone by words or threatenings, it is expected that ye masters will make use of prudence in their actions, and to spare ye rod as long as it may consist with ye good of ye children; but if neither fair words nor threats will gaine them, then shall ye masters show, both by their words and countenance, ane aversatione to passione, and a dislyke to ye actione, with suitable expressions to that purpose, in which humor they may correct; soe yt they may be as angrie as they will when they intend not to correct, but not to be passionat when they correct, meer necessity (being for the weelfair of the children) compelling them to it; but not for every trifle to stupifie them with stroaks.

"That the masters assume nothing to themselves that may render them obnoxious to ye clamour of ye vulgar, as they are to instruct and correct, according to our order and command; soe by ye same authority they are to give ye accustomed liberty to their scholars, that ye children be not used as slaves, but as freeborne. And that their labour may be sweetned unto them, upon every Tuesday and Thursday, the dayes being fair, they shall be suffered to play at the place appoynted for that end, from halfe-three till four afternoone; after which tyme they are to returne to schoole, where they are to remaine till sex; these dayes, being unfitt for recreatione, itt may be delayed untill the first fair seasone, with every Saturday's afternoone; together with the accustomed festival dayes, observeing the ancient rites of their oblations (to testifie their thankfulnes) to their masters; att and after which tymes, the shollars may, with a kyndly homelines, mediat for the play by the mouth of their victor; as alsoe at the entry of a new

schollar (if earnestly intreated), they may have it for all night. The lyke may be granted to any of the masters, superiors, or for a complement to strangers, or when any necessare occasione requyre itt, that thereby the masters show their clemency to their schollars, and gain them by such demonstrations of their affectione towards them ; but the masters shall nowise give them whole dayes play, without they be permitted or commanded by their superiors.

"It hath been ane ordinary custome, that three or foure dayes in the summer quarter, the children had libertie to goe and cutt downe bent, or rushes, for the schoole; but accompanied with this inconvenience, that often tymes they fall a wrestleing with hooks in their hands, that sometymes they wrong themselves, other tymes their neighbours ; soe that, to prevent this evill, and the schollars to have their former liberty, every schollar shall bring at least twelve pennies Scots, and give to ye master, and that upon the first Monday of May, the lyke to be done upon ye first Mondays of June and July, which is commonly called ye Bent-silver-play ; with which money ye masters are to buy bent, or other things needfull for the schools."

Mr James Kirkwood, who is mentioned by Ruddiman as author of several elementary books in the Latin language, appears to have been a native of this parish. He was author of a grammar entitled, "Grammatica Despauteriana, cum nova novi generis glossa," and "Rhetoricæ Compendium ; cui subjicitus de Analysi Tractatiuncula," wherein he styles himself "Jacobo Kirkwodo Dumbarensi." He was schoolmaster of Linlithgow in 1689, where, after having filled the office fifteen years, he quarrelled with the magistrates, whom he styles "bigoty presbyterians," and refusing to attend their meeting-house, which, in opposition to the public place of worship, was kept in the provost's hall or kitchen, after a long and expensive plea with the town, he found it expedient to remove with his family to Edinburgh, where he taught a private school with great success, and was much patronised by the nobility and gentry. A vacancy having occurred in the grammar-school of Kelso, he was invited by the Countess of Roxburghe to that situation, which he accepted, "chiefly," as he observes, "because he was born under that family, and his relations were feuars or tenants to her lady-

ship in the neighbourhood of Dunbar." At the time that he accepted this charge, he refused a Greek and Latin professorship in a college about to be erected at Virginia. Mr Kirkwood was scarcely settled in Kelso when he had a dispute with the minister regarding the offices of session-clerk and precentor, which had been withheld from him, and led to a great deal of angry vituperation on both sides. On this occasion he published his defence in a large pamphlet, dedicated to his patroness, entitled, "Mr Kirkwood's Plea with the Kirk Session and Presbytery of Kelso"—printed at London in 1698.*

There were two public seminaries in Dunbar—a grammar and English school conjoined, and a mathematical one—the masters of which were appointed by the magistrates. The old English and grammar schools were situated immediately behind the town-house; but in 1824 new schools were erected in a more healthy and airy situation, close by the sea-side. The seminaries are now merged into one establishment. Mr William Dick is the present rector of the Burgh Schools.

### PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

Dunbar had no parochial school till 1790, when it was established at West Barns, for the purpose of accommodating that populous district of the parish, which is ably conducted by the Rev. George Johnston. The new school-house, which is erected on an airy situation, was built in 1848, at the expense of the heritors of the parish.

There is a school at East Barns, with a small salary, being the interest of L.100 sterling, mortified for that purpose by Mr William Hume, late farmer in that village. This school was made parochial in 1835. The new school-house was built in 1849, which bears the following significant motto—"Disce vel Discede." Mr Alexander U. Sutter is the present teacher.

* Mr Kirkwood had also passed his probationary trials at Haddington as a preacher, and appears to have been a relation of the Rev. James Kirkwood, with whom he was contemporary.

### DUNBAR CHARITY SCHOOL.

Delightful task to rear the tender mind,
And teach the young idea how to shoot.
THOMSON.

This useful seminary was instituted in April, 1823, under the control of a committee of management of thirteen persons. The ground on which the building was erected cost L.60, and the edifice about L.350. The system of education pursued in the seminary is reading, writing, arithmetic, and Bible geography. The small fee of one penny per week is required from each, thus placing the means of education within the reach of the ragged urchin, as well as the pampered boy who figures in the Highland garb. The utterly destitute are educated gratis. The average attendance of scholars is 110.

The establishment is vested under the surveillance of the following trustees:—W. C. Drysdale, Esq., London; C. L. Sawers, Esq., Dunbar; John Kelly, Esq., banker; John Kirkwood, Esq., Dunbar; and W. Robertson, Esq., Glasgow.

At a meeting held on 6th October, 1858, the directors acknowledged the receipt of contributions to the amount of L.216 4s, besides L.100 received from the trustees of the Ferguson Bequest,* which has enabled them to enlarge the salary of their teacher (Mr Moffat), as well as to place the school on an efficient footing.

We are glad to notice the following distinguished persons at the head of the subscription list:—His Grace the Duke of Roxburghe; the Earls of Haddington and Lauderdale; Lord and Lady Elcho; Lady Blanche Balfour of Whittingham; Lady Mary C. N. Hamilton of Beil and Dirleton; Sir John Warrender, Bart.; Sir T. B. Hepburn, Bart.; Major-General Sir H. R. Ferguson Davie, Bart., M.P.; Mrs Hay of Belton; W. M. Innes Esq. of Aytoun Castle, &c.

The success of the institution has been much indebted to the trustees, and to the zeal of George Bayne, Esq., the treasurer.

* This bequest was granted for the furtherance of such benevolent institutions, by Mr Ferguson of Cairnbrock, near Irvine.

In connection with the Charity School, a seminary for girls, for instruction in sewing and knitting, under the management of Miss Beaton, has also been adopted, which numbers about 30 pupils. A committee of ladies, consisting of seven, manage this department. The latter school was established in 1832.

### DUNBAR FREE CHURCH SCHOOL.

This seminary is attached to the Free Church, and was established in 1845. The site of the school and building cost L.200, which was defrayed by the Deacon's Court of the Free Church, aided by a grant from Government. The number of scholars average from 80 to 110. The school has two pupil-teachers, and the head-teacher, Mr Jackson, holds a certificate from Government, from whom each of them receive a salary for their services. The fees are from 2s. 6d. to 5s for the common branches; including classics or mathematics, 7s. 6d. per quarter.

### BURSARIES.

Hector Ford of Branxton, in 1678, mortified, in the hands of the town of Edinburgh, 1200 merks Scots, for the education and maintenance of six bursars at the University of Edinburgh. His own relations, and the surname of Ford, to be preferred, and afterwards any young men born in the parishes or educated at the schools of Dunbar or Innerwick, whom the ministers of these places may appoint.

Thomas Bryson, merchant and bailie in Dunbar, in 1702, mortified, in the hands of the Presbytery of Dunbar, 4500 merks Scots, for two bursars, to be applied solely to young men born in Dunbar parish or educated at the town schools, after those of his own name and kindred.

William Hume, tenant in East Barns, in 1784, mortified L.400 sterling, in the hands of the Presbytery of Dunbar, for the maintenance of two bursars, as aforesaid, at Edinburgh, or any other college in the kingdom.

THE

# HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

PART III.

## CIVIL AND DOMESTIC.

# HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

## PART III.

# CIVIL AND DOMESTIC.

## CHAPTER I.

Commerce brought into the public walk
The busy merchant ; the big warehouse built ;
Rais'd the strong crane ; choak'd up the loaded street
With foreign plenty.

THOMSON.

### THE PARISH.—AGRICULTURE.—POPULATION.

THE town of Dunbar is situated at the mouth of the Frith of Forth, in the county of East Lothian, and sheriffdom of Haddington, twenty-eight miles east from Edinburgh ; in latitude nearly 56° north, and longitude 2° 30' west from Greenwich. The parish, which takes its name from the town, is rather more than eight miles long, and in some places three miles broad. It is separated from Innerwick parish by Dryburn-water on the south. It is bounded by the Frith of Forth and Tynningham parish on the north ; by the German Ocean on the east ; and by the parishes of Spott, Stenton, and Prestonkirk, on the west. The town at one time owned a considerable portion of land, called Dunbar Outer Common, about five miles from the town, surrounded by the parishes of Innerwick, Whittingham, and

Stenton. It is situated on the skirts of Lammermoor, and is four miles long, and in some places three, and in general two and a-half miles broad. The marches were perambulated yearly by the magistrates and council, which occasioned a scene of much merriment to the lieges. It was sold in 1857, to the estate of Beil, for L.900.

Fanned by the undulating breezes of the Forth, the situation of Dunbar in summer is healthy and pleasant; in winter, when the north-eastern blast, wrought up into the flickering mazes of the storm, desolates its rocky shores, it is chill and gloomy. The face of the country rises gradually from the sea, interspersed with green hill and gentle dale, till it is lost in the Lammermoors. Its shores are rugged and picturesque; the most striking objects seen at a little distance being the Bass and the Isle of May, while many a little isolated rock, situated immediately upon the beach, such as the Pin-cod, Delves, &c., appear once to have formed a junction with the mainland. Eastward, at the extremity of this rocky and lofty coast, the eye reposes on the blue promontory of St Abb's Head, where the Princess Ebba once had her solitary house of prayer; southward we behold the pastoral Lammermoors and the high grounds of Whittingham; and, in the west, Traprene Law, the Garleton Hills, and North Berwick Law, close a beautiful amphitheatre; while beyond it are seen the shadowy outlines of the Pentland hills, the shores of Fife, and the mountains of Angus.

A little eastward from Dunbar, immediately on the beach, we meet with a considerable extent of low rocky ledges, generally of the red sandstone formation, dipping so gently in some places in their angle of inclination, as to appear almost horizontal. Farther on, however, they assume a more vertical shape, till at length the strata shoot up into almost perpendicular peaks, after which they are lost, and succeeded by what Professor Jameson calls "a bed of prophyritic basaltic greenstone," which runs a considerable way into the sea. Beyond this, the red sandstone ceases to be visible, but beds of limestone now begin to make their ap-

pearance in the greyish-white sandstone to which the former has given place.*

The isle or rock upon which Dunbar Battery is built, is situated between the harbour and castle, and consists of Basaltic columns, or a stratum of stone, resembling the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. Mr Pennant describes it as consisting of "red grit stone, either triangular or hexangular; their diameter from one to two feet; their length at low water thirty, dipping or declining a little to the south. They are jointed, but not so regularly or so plainly as those which form the Giant's Causeway. The surface of several that had been torn off appears as a pavement of numbers of convex ends, probably answering to the concave bottoms of other joints incumbent on them. The space between the columns are filled with the septa of red and white sparry matter, the veins of the same pervading the columns transversely." This range of columns faces the north, with a point to the east, and extends in front above two hundred yards. The other parts of the rock degenerate into shapeless masses, regularly divided by thick septa.

Limestone being the prevailing rock in the eastern district of the parish, it is quarried at the Clamber Hill, Skateraw shore, East Barns, and Oxwellmains. Near the Clamber Hill there are some small seams of coal; and adjoining to the harbour of that place there are some very curious specimens of limestone. There are draw-kilns for burning lime-shells at East Barns, the Catcraig, and Oxwellmains. When in operation it is supposed they produce 400 bolls daily.†

The soil is rich and fertile, and the harvests, in general, early. It produces plentiful crops of wheat, and lets so high as from

* For an account of the geological structure, and other highly interesting peculiarities and natural appearances of this part of the coast and neighhood, the reader is referred to "Popular Philosophy; or, the Book of Nature Laid Open upon Christian Principles," a work written and published by the late Mr George Miller, Dunbar.

† Limestone abounds everywhere in the county. In 1663, Charles II. granted a charter to John Cant, confirming to him several lands in Innerwick, with the privilege of burning limestone.

L.3, 10s. to L.5 per Scots acre. The burgh-acres, in the immediate vicinity of the town, bring from L.6 to L.7. The fields are mostly enclosed with stone walls or thorn hedges. The lands are dry, of a rich loam, and partly of a light mould. Sea-ware is much used as a manure on the eastern coast, and by some it is reckoned equivalent to an equal quantity of dung. Guano has been introduced into the county to a large extent, which will be more particularly noticed afterwards.

The only eminences worthy of notice in the parish are the Brunt Hill, above Spott, and part of Doonhill, from the latter of which there is a beautiful panoramic view of Dunbar and its suburbs.

The Tyne is the only stream of any consequence in the neighbourhood. It rises in the parish of Crichton, in Mid-Lothian, and after winding its sluggish way through many a verdant mead, makes a leap, or rapid fall, at the village of Linton, over some broken rocks, and empties itself into the Frith of Forth, a little below Tynningham. This river produces trout through its whole extent; and below Linton, and at its mouth, salmon are taken. The tide ebbs and flows about two miles; and the sea has encroached upon several acres of land adjacent to West Barns, which, it is supposed, a little Dutch skill or industry might have preserved. An attempt was made a good many years ago, by the late Mrs Fall, to repel these encroachments, which did not succeed. Some years later, Mr David France made a similar attempt below Rosebank, which, from the art and perseverance displayed, seemed to promise success; but on the occasion of some very high tides, the waves made several tremendous breaches in the dike or wall, and completely gorged up the forthcoming soil. This gentleman, however, at a great expense, at last succeeded, and beat Canute, by making the approaching waves recede.

The small rivulet of Beil, after winding by Whitingham and Belton, falls into the sea at Belhaven, while Spott-water runs into the sea at Broxmouth, and Dryburn-water washes the

southern boundary of the parish. On the stormy evening of the 3rd of August, 1829, the gentle streamlet of Beil came roaring and boiling down, and laid the one half of West Barns under water.

The following is a list of the ploughgates of land in Dunbar parish, with the names of the proprietors in 1830 :—

| FARMS. | PROPRIETORS. | PLOUGHS. |
|---|---|---|
| Howmuir, | Mrs H. Nisbet of Beil, | 2½ |
| Ninewar, | Ditto, | 2 |
| Gateside & Tynefield, | Miss Hunter, | 2½ |
| North Belton, | Robert Hay, Esq. of Belton, | 4 |
| Hetherwick, | Mrs Nisbet, | 3 |
| Hetherwick-hill, | Lieut.-Gen. George Hardyman, | 0 7-10ths. |
| Linkfield, | John Allan, Esq., | 4 |
| Belton, | Captain Hay, R.N. | 1 3-10ths. |
| South Belton, | Ditto, | 8 1-5th. |
| West Barns, | J. Hume and C. Middlemass, Esqs. | 3 2-5ths. |
| West Barns Mains. | John Thomson, Esq., | 1 |
| Eweford, | Sir George Warrender, Bart. | 4 11-24ths. |
| Hallhill, | Ditto, | 2 13-24ths. |
| Lochend, | Ditto, | 2 |
| Newtonlees, | Ditto, | 4 |
| Chesterhall, | Ditto, | 1 |
| Brandsmill, | Duke of Roxburghe, | 0½ |
| Oxwell-mains, | Ditto, | 4 |
| Broxmouth, | Ditto, | 3 |
| Little Pinkerton, | Ditto, | 4½ |
| Brunt, | Ditto, | 2 |
| Meikle Pinkerton, | Ditto, | 10½ |
| East Barns, | Robert Hay, Esq. of Lawfield, | 9 |
| Barnyhill, | William Sandilands, Esq., | 3 |
| Winterfield-mains, | Captain Richard Anderson, R.N., | 2 |
| Dunbar-house, | Earl of Lauderdale, | 0½ |
| Rosebank, | Heirs of Mr T. Mitchell, | 0¼ |
| Burrowdales, | Town of Dunbar, | 1 |
| Underedge, | Christopher Middlemass, Esq., | 0½ |
| | | 87¼ |

The valued rent of the parish at this time was only L.16,826,

17s 5d Scots; but the land rental was supposed to be at least L.21,000 sterling.

It has been customary in East Lothian, since 1627, annually to fix, by public authority, the fiars or average prices of each species of corn sold and purchased in the county. The fiars are struck by the sheriff in the month of March, and by these the ministers' stipends are regulated, and other rates payable in grain apportioned.

FIARS—CROPS 1855-56.

| Description. | Quality. | By the Imperial Quarter. 1855. | 1856. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat, | First | L.4 4 11 | L.2 13 0 |
| | Second | 3 18 3¼ | 2 2 10½ |
| | Third | 3 11 10½ | 1 18 0 |
| Barley, | First | 2 5 1½ | 2 5 4¾ |
| | Second | 2 2 3 | 2 1 4½ |
| | Third | 1 18 10¼ | 1 17 3¾ |
| Oats, | First | 1 15 2 | 1 12 10 |
| | Second | 1 12 7½ | 1 7 1½ |
| | Third | 1 10 0 | 1 4 2¾ |

There was a weekly market at Dunbar, held on Thursday, at which the grain was sold by sample. This market was anciently held on Friday, It is now held on Tuesday. A commodious Corn Exchange was built, at an expense of about L.510, and opened on the 15th October, 1855. The revenue for the year ending 15th October, 1856, was L.70, 10s 1d; 1857, L.76, 13s 2d; 1858, L.77, 6s 1d.

### FAIRS.

There are two fairs annually at Dunbar, at the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas (old style), which were conducted somewhat in the manner of the ancient fairs, where the people were wont to be supplied with luxuries and useful commodities, and the children with toys; but these are fast going to decay. There

is also a market for hiring farm servants on these occasions, and a traffic is carried on in the buying and selling of milch cows. In the olden time there was a fair on the 8th September, called *latter Lady-day*, in harvest, and one on the 11th November, with the privilege of continuing each fair during the space of the two market days immediately following.

## POPULATION.

In 1755, the population of the parish amounted to 3281. By an accurate survey in 1792, the inhabitants were 3700, being an increase of 419; in 1811, they amounted to 3982; in 1817, they were 4499; and by a census taken in 1821, agreeably to an act, 1 Geo. IV., entitled, "An Act for taking an account of the population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof," the number of inhabitants was 5272. This remarkable increase may partly be accounted for from the establishment of a cotton manufactory at Belhaven, which contained a population of 550 people in 1818; and partly from the return of soldiers and sailors at the end of the war. The following is an abstract of the return given in to the county, for the parishes in Dunbar Presbytery, in 1821:—

| Parishes. | Houses inhabited. | Number of families. | Houses uninhabited. | Occupations. | | | Persons, including children, of all ages. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Families chiefly employed in agriculture. | Chiefly employed in trade and manufactures. | Others not comprised in the two preceding classes. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
| Dunbar, . . | 728 | 1207 | 22 | 283 | 871 | 53 | 2490 | 2782 | 5272 |
| Spott, . . . | 125 | 130 | 8 | 102 | 18 | 10 | 271 | 311 | 582 |
| Innerwick, . | 193 | 196 | 18 | 122 | 52 | 22 | 431 | 493 | 924 |
| Oldhamstocks, | 135 | 135 | 10 | 84 | 32 | 19 | 330 | 296 | 626 |
| Prestonkirk, . | 330 | 392 | 3 | 227 | 147 | 18 | 883 | 929 | 1812 |
| Whitekirk, . | 222 | 232 | 17 | 140 | 33 | 59 | 487 | 561 | 1048 |
| Whittingham, | 134 | 135 | 24 | 106 | 12 | 17 | 367 | 383 | 750 |
| Stenton, . . | 140 | 151 | 18 | 113 | 29 | 9 | 333 | 354 | 687 |

Subjoined is an enumeration of the various ages contained in the preceding abstract:—

| Parishes. | MALES. Under 5 | 5 to 10 | 10 to 15 | 15 to 20 | 20 to 30 | 30 to 40 | 40 to 50 | 50 to 60 | 60 to 70 | 70 to 80 | 80 to 90 | 90 to 100 | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dunbar, | 431 | 328 | 284 | 268 | 333 | 264 | 224 | 165 | 126 | 55 | 11 | 1 | 2490 |
| Spott, | 54 | 59 | 31 | 26 | 45 | 27 | 26 | 11 | 23 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 271 |
| Innerwick, | 60 | 55 | 56 | 46 | 64 | 44 | 48 | 26 | 18 | 11 | 3 | 0 | 431 |
| Oldhamstocks, | 52 | 55 | 40 | 37 | 46 | 39 | 23 | 12 | 16 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 330 |
| Prestonkirk, | 113 | 142 | 129 | 94 | 120 | 93 | 80 | 43 | 44 | 19 | 6 | 0 | 883 |
| Whitekirk, | 78 | 63 | 54 | 41 | 95 | 46 | 39 | 31 | 26 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 487 |
| Whittingham, | 47 | 52 | 55 | 40 | 57 | 40 | 39 | 16 | 14 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 367 |
| Stenton, | 35 | 42 | 37 | 42 | 57 | 34 | 35 | 25 | 18 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 333 |
| **FEMALES.** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dunbar, | 341 | 329 | 346 | 275 | 492 | 335 | 297 | 202 | 164 | 79 | 16 | 6 | 2782 |
| Spott, | 44 | 30 | 35 | 28 | 58 | 41 | 25 | 24 | 15 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 311 |
| Innerwick, | 59 | 61 | 57 | 49 | 78 | 60 | 51 | 43 | 23 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 493 |
| Oldhamstocks, | 42 | 37 | 26 | 31 | 40 | 37 | 31 | 16 | 14 | 18 | 3 | 1 | 296 |
| Prestonkirk, | 136 | 112 | 99 | 93 | 144 | 110 | 98 | 64 | 43 | 18 | 12 | 0 | 929 |
| Whitekirk, | 61 | 75 | 57 | 56 | 108 | 63 | 36 | 48 | 38 | 17 | 2 | 0 | 561 |
| Whittingham, | 61 | 47 | 44 | 40 | 62 | 42 | 37 | 28 | 11 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 383 |
| Stenton, | 20 | 55 | 39 | 48 | 56 | 32 | 37 | 32 | 22 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 354 |

As an extraordinary instance of longevity, Magnus Reid of Dunbar, when about eighty years of age, commenced travelling-chapman, and followed this profession till within eight weeks of

his death, which happened in 1786, at the advanced age of 114 years.

Eleanor, Countess of Lauderdale, died at Thirlstane Castle, on the 16th September, 1856, aged 94.

Alison Bartram, belonging to Chrichness, parish of Innerwick, died at the age of 100.

The following calculations taken from existing data, in the records of mortality, by Mr James Watson, in a survey preparatory to publishing a plan of the churchyard of Dunbar, will serve to show the average length of human life in that parish. In order to ascertain the medium number of years that the persons lived whose ages are on the grave-stones, Mr Watson collected 207 of these together, and divided them into six classes, as under:—

| Class. | | | Years. | Years. | Months. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | from 15 to 30 years | 27 lived | 613, average | 22 | 8 |
| 2. | — 31 to 45 — | 40 — | 1507 — | 37 | 8 |
| 3. | — 45 to 60 — | 49 — | 2668 — | 52 | 4 |
| 4. | — 60 to 75 — | 60 — | 4009 — | 65 | 9 |
| 5. | — 76 to 90 — | 31 — | 2396 — | 77 | 3 |
| | | 207 | 11,193 | | |
| 6. | — 90 to 105 — | 6 — | 585 | | |
| | | 213 | 11,778 | | |

By this table it appears that the medium number of years the above 207 persons enjoyed life, from the ages of 15 to 90, was nearly 53 years 10 months each.

## POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF

AS AT 31ST

| Parish. | Number of Separate Occupiers. | Houses. | | | Scotch. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Inhabited. | Uninhabited. | Building. | |
| Aberlady, ..... | 243 | 238 | 15 | ... | 1002 |
| Athelstaneford,.. | 208 | 199 | 10 | 10 | 913 |
| Bolton, ..... | 70 | 68 | 9 | ... | 353 |
| Dirleton, ..... | 347 | 317 | 12 | 2 | 1537 |
| Dunbar, ..... | 290 | 271 | 11 | ... | 1303 |
| Fala, ..... | 26 | 26 | 3 | ... | 144 |
| Garvald, ..... | 174 | 161 | 4 | ... | 853 |
| Gladsmuir, ..... | 371 | 356 | 21 | 12 | 1703 |
| Haddington, ..... | 360 | 350 | 18 | 1 | 1598 |
| Humbie, ..... | 188 | 184 | 14 | ... | 883 |
| Innerwick, ..... | 198 | 198 | 10 | ... | 966 |
| Morham, ..... | 54 | 54 | 2 | ... | 237 |
| North Berwick,.. | 157 | 147 | 4 | ... | 658 |
| Oldhamstocks,... | 121 | 124 | 7 | ... | 543 |
| Ormiston, ..... | 178 | 161 | 19 | 1 | 786 |
| Pencaitland, ..... | 268 | 253 | 18 | ... | 1130 |
| Prestonkirk, .... | 402 | 327 | 19 | 1 | 1782 |
| Prestonpans, ..... | 521 | 288 | 57 | 1 | 2077 |
| Salton, ..... | 162 | 157 | 18 | ... | 667 |
| Spott, ..... | 123 | 121 | 6 | ... | 589 |
| Stenton, ..... | 164 | 146 | 5 | 1 | 698 |
| Tranent, ..... | 914 | 716 | 44 | 6 | 3912 |
| Whitekirk, ..... | 245 | 233 | 16 | 2 | 1056 |
| Whittingham, ... | 136 | 135 | 11 | ... | 635 |
| Yester, ..... | 263 | 211 | 12 | ... | 1154 |
| | 6183 | 5441 | 365 | 37 | 27,179 |

NOTE.—It appears from the census, that within the royalty of the burgh of Haddington, and the royalty of the parliamentary boundary, there was an increase of 134 in the population.

## HADDINGTON, AND BURGHS THEREIN,

## MARCH, 1851.

| English. | Irish. | Foreign. | Males. | Females | Total in 1851. | Total in 1844. | In-crease. | De-crease. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | 60 | 2 | 541 | 551 | 1092 | 1050 | 42 | ... |
| 12 | 45 | 1 | 474 | 497 | 971 | 991 | ... | 20 |
| 9 | 11 | 0 | 178 | 195 | 373 | 341 | 32 | ... |
| 29 | 63 | 5 | 790 | 844 | 1634 | 1497 | 137 | ... |
| 33 | 41 | 1 | 647 | 731 | 1378 | 1491 | ... | 113 |
| 1 | 6 | 4 | 84 | 71 | 155 | 144 | 11 | ... |
| 9 | 6 | 1 | 417 | 452 | 869 | 862 | 7 | ... |
| 22 | 50 | 7 | 893 | 889 | 1782 | 1699 | 83 | ... |
| 30 | 28 | 2 | 799 | 859 | 1658 | 1705 | ... | 47 |
| 11 | 27 | 4 | 457 | 468 | 925 | 881 | 44 | — |
| 35 | 11 | 0 | 500 | 512 | 1012 | 961 | 51 | — |
| 3 | 9 | 0 | 122 | 127 | 249 | 287 | ... | 38 |
| 5 | 117 | 0 | 387 | 393 | 780 | 671 | 109 | — |
| 5 | 11 | 1 | 278 | 282 | 560 | 601 | ... | 41 |
| 9 | 15 | 1 | 392 | 419 | 811 | 826 | ... | 15 |
| 18 | 22 | 5 | 550 | 625 | 1175 | 1127 | 48 | — |
| 20 | 89 | 4 | 914 | 981 | 1895 | 1869 | 26 | — |
| 37 | 6 | 2 | 1031 | 1091 | 2122 | 2234 | ... | 112 |
| 10 | 20 | 0 | 349 | 348 | 697 | 770 | ... | 73 |
| 2 | 3 | 1 | 279 | 316 | 595 | 603 | ... | 8 |
| 19 | 2 | 0 | 349 | 370 | 719 | 686 | 33 | — |
| 27 | 204 | 11 | 2038 | 2116 | 4154 | 3887 | 267 | — |
| 28 | 44 | 4 | 530 | 602 | 1132 | 1170 | ... | 38 |
| 19 | 14 | 4 | 333 | 339 | 672 | 700 | ... | 28 |
| 21 | 25 | 2 | 591 | 611 | 1202 | 1069 | 133 | ... |
| 442 | 929 | 62 | 13,923 | 14,689 | 28,612 | 28,122 | 1023 | 522 |

In the royalty of Dunbar, and parliamentary boundary, an increase of 60.
In the royalty of North Berwick, and parliamentary boundary, a decrease of 174.

## CHAPTER II.

THE TOWN.—CHARTERS.—ANNUAL REVENUE, ETC.

THE town of Dunbar was evidently at first a fishing-village which gradually sprang up under the shelter of the castle, and rose into notice under the influence of the powerful family to which it belonged. So early as the reign of Alexander II., it appears to have acquired some importance; for, in 1216, according to the Chronicle of Melrose, King John, penetrating into Lothian, burnt Dunbar and Haddington. In 1369, the principal trade of the borders was monopolised by the English, then in possession of Berwick and Roxburgh, who carried out of the kingdom wool, skins, and other goods, the chief produce of the pastoral districts of the Lammermoors, which otherwise would have paid a duty to the king. To counteract this traffic, Dunbar was created a free burgh by David II., "with limits as extensive as the earldom of March, with a market-cross, with power to buy and sell, with a *cocquet* and *trone*, and with a free port at Belhaven,"* and was also entitled to a reciprocal commerce with Haddington. During the succeeding reign of Robert III., William Danielstoun was granted a pension of 20 merks sterling out of the great customs of Dunbar, till the king should provide him with ten marks of land. When Dunbar was made a free burgh, it was admitted, with other corporations, to send a representative to the Scottish parliament; and, since the Union, it joins with Haddington, Jedburgh, Lauder, and North Berwick, in bringing up a member for this purpose.

The Earls of Dunbar were anciently the sheriffs or justiciaries of Lothian. They held their baronial courts at Whittingham (the dwelling on the white mead), probably because it lay in the

* Chalmers' Cal. ii.

bosom of their territories, which comprehended Dunbar, Spott, Pinkerton, Beil, Hailes, Merkhill, Fortoun, and other places in the county. After the revolution, the sheriffdom of Haddington was filled by the Marquis of Tweeddale and the Earl of Haddington successively; and, although these trusts were not hereditary, yet this bondage was entailed on the lordships of baronial courts; for, on the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions in 1748, we find L.800 sterling was paid John Hay as an equivalent for the bailliery of Dunbar, and L.500 to John Hamilton for the regality of Drem. The sheriff-court is now held at Haddington; but a circuit small-debt court is now held by the Sheriff at Dunbar every two months.

The affairs of the burgh are managed by the magistrates and town-council. These consist of a provost, three bailies, and seven members of council, assisted by a treasurer, town-clerk, chamberlain, and procurator-fiscal. The provost is, *ex-officio*, a member of the justice-of-peace court, which is held at Haddington. The magistrates hold a weekly court in the burgh every Saturday.

The following is a list of charters, under the Great Seal, granted to Dunbar, from 1368 to the 23rd October, 1618:—

1. Litera quod Georgius Comes Marchie, apud Dunbar Liberum Burgum habeat, cum certis privilegies burgensibus ibidem. David II. 8th Feb. 1368. Book 1. No. 244.
2. Carta Con. vni capellano in ecclesia collegiate Sancte Bae de Dunbar, de annus redditu, de terres in lie Cowgate. James IV., 9th June, 1501. Book 13. No. 512.
3. Carta Con. Burgo de Dunbar—de eorum terris et privilegius. James IV. 1st March. 1603. Book 43. No. 299.
4. Carta—Burgo de Dunbar—de eorum terris et privilegiis. James VI. 23rd October, 1618. Book 49. No. 127.

The annual revenue of the burgh in 1830 was about L.1300, which arose chiefly from customs, impost, shore-dues, cess, feu-duties, water pipes, property, &c., and was generally sufficient to meet the expenditure, unless when new and expensive works were undertaken. The town's property, in 1858, of which we give an abstract, is valued at L.6450.

## ABSTRACT STATE OF THE AFFAIRS

FOR THE YEAR ENDING

CHARGE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cash at close of last annual state, | L.320 17 6 | | |
| Arrears at ditto, | 15 16 9 | | |
| | | L.336 | 14 3 |
| Rent of Customs, | 290 0 0 | | |
| „ Street Dung, Harbour Mud, | 130 10 0 | | |
| Let by public roup, | | 420 | 10 0 |
| „ Anchorage, collected by Harbour Master, | | 46 | 12 6 |
| „ Ballast, Impost on Ale, &c., | | 48 | 8 6½ |
| Steel-Yard, collected by Burgh Officer, | | 16 | 2 8 |
| Sea Ware, | | 2 | 18 0 |
| Assessment on Lands and Heritages, | 73 11 6 | | |
| „ Trade, | 56 8 0 | | |
| „ for Water | 25 11 7 | | |
| | | 155 | 11 1 |
| Prisons' Assessment, | | 23 | 17 0 |
| Rent of Mills, | | 252 | 0 0 |
| „ Houses, &c., | | 62 | 17 0 |
| Feus, | | 24 | 19 5½ |
| Water Pipes, | | 20 | 17 6 |
| Church Seats, | | 1 | 5 0 |
| Boats' Licences, | | 126 | 4 0 |
| Pier Lights, | | 19 | 10 0 |
| Net Ground, | | 2 | 12 6 |
| Stances for Curing Herrings, | | 77 | 6 1 |
| Corn Exchange, | | 33 | 14 6 |
| Burgess Tickets, | | 0 | 10 0 |
| Stones and Gravel, | | 1 | 6 8 |
| Seaport Property, sold, | | 290 | 5 9 |
| Casual, | | 6 | 15 3 |
| Bark Boiling Houses and Yard, | | 12 | 14 4 |
| Property and Income Tax repaid, | | 15 | 14 10 |
| Bank Interest, | | 3 | 15 9 |
| | L.2003 | 2 | 8 |

## OF THE BURGH OF DUNBAR.

15TH OCTOBER, 1858.

DISCHARGE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Interest on Money borrowed, | L.106 | 12 | 8 |
| Retired Schoolmasters' Salaries, | 52 | 8 | 4 |
| Burgh Schoolmaster's Salary, | 29 | 2 | 4 |
| Town Clerk and Market Clerks' Salaries, | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Town Clerk's General Business Account, | 7 | 4 | 0 |
| Chamberlain's Commission, | 50 | 5 | 5½ |
| Burgh Officers' Weekly Wages and Clothing, | 119 | 11 | 2 |
| Property and Income Tax, | 35 | 16 | 7 |
| Expenses on Corn Exchange, | 9 | 13 | 0½ |
| ,, Houses, Streets, Harbour, Victoria Harbour, Wells, and Schools, | 169 | 10 | 7 |
| Casual Expenditure, | 122 | 19 | 4 |
| Miscellaneous Annual Charges, | 46 | 8 | 2 |
| Lighting Street Lamps, | 47 | 13 | 3½ |
| Insurance, | 12 | 0 | 2 |
| Town Clerk's Commission and Outlay, collecting Boats' Licences, | 16 | 11 | 8 |
| Prisons' Assessment, | 26 | 17 | 1 |
| Pier Lights, | 20 | 12 | 9 |
| Poors' Rates, Registration of Births, &c., and Voters' Act, | 10 | 18 | 5½ |
| Sanitary Measures, | 12 | 18 | 2 |
| Inspector of Nuisances, | 3 | 15 | 0 |
| Seaport Property purchased, | 270 | 2 | 3 |
| Carting Ballast, | 15 | 6 | 8½ |
| New Barking Houses and Yard, | 85 | 17 | 1 |
| Arrears struck off, | 3 | 12 | 4½ |
| | L.1305 | 6 | 8 |
| Cash due by the Chamberlain, L.670 12 3½ | | | |
| Arrears, 27 3 8½ | | | |
| | 697 | 16 | 0 |
| | L.2003 | 2 | 8 |

Dunbar consists chiefly of a spacious street, extending nearly the whole length of the town, from which the others branch off towards the shore or the harbour. The houses are mostly modern, none remaining of that Flemish description which stood with their dove-tailed gables to the street, of which the last was the Black Bull Inn, which has now given place to the splendid building of the City of Glasgow Bank. The town is situated on an eminence, gradually rising from the sea; and, as a proof of the salubrity of the climate, several instances of longevity occur. The most ancient part of the burgh evidently lay towards the harbour, under cover of the castle, from which it appears to have gradually extended southward. Among the old houses was a tenement called Bamburgh Castle, which latterly stood near the head of the High Street, but at one time was probably detached. Tradition affirms that it had a subterraneous communication with the castle, the entrance to which is still shown; and that, in later times, a foolish piper, in attempting to thread his way through this intricate labyrinth, was supposed to have been suffocated by pestilential vapour; for his bagpipes were only heard to vibrate as far as the bottom of Silver Street, when their dying notes ceased. This tenement, and the lands adjoining, belonged to the Knights Templars.

In the itinerary of Fynes Moryson, gent., who perambulated Scotland in 1598, in search of the picturesque in man-millinery and cookery, we find that Dunbar still laboured under the desolating effects of the invasion of 1548, when it was burnt by the English. "Being to return from Barwicke," says he, "I had an earnest desire first to see the King of Scots court; so from hence I rode in one day forty miles to Edinburgh, the chief city of that kingdom; and in this said day's journey, after four miles riding, I came to Aton, a village where the lords of Humes dwell, whose family was powerful in those parts. After sixteen miles more, I came to Dunbar, which they said to have been of old a town of some importance, but then it lay ruined, and seemed of little moment, as well from the poverty as the small number of inhabitants."

The battle of Dunbar, and the more fatal "Tysday's chace," by which epithet it was long remembered, had no doubt a ruinous effect on the burgh, and would be sensibly felt for some time.

From the journal of a medical officer, who was attached to the army of the Duke of Cumberland in 1745, Dunbar appears to have been surrounded by a stone wall:—"This Dunbar is a pretty large town, upon the sea-coast, and hath been fenced in with a stone wall of great strength, though by the frequent batteries it hath of late years received, it is much impaired and gone to decay. The houses here (as generally most of their capital towns) are built with stone, and covered with the slate, and are well supplied with provisions, by reason of a weekly market which is held here. The inhabitants talk much of great losses and calamities sustained in the late civil wars; the very thoughts of it do, to this very day, still strike a terror into them, whenever they recal that bloody day to remembrance, and think what great havoc and spoil was made amongst them. The magistrates here made a grand entertainment to every regiment that passed through. The private soldiers had all a certain quantity of bread, meat, and drink allowed them. The officers were treated in their town-house, where we had many kinds of their most curious dishes, but some of them were oddly cooked up, that it was but few many of us could eat of. We had also claret and punch in great plenty; but with all these, they had a table-cloth so dirty, that, at other times, I should with great reluctance have wiped my hands on it."

Had this fastidious tourist accompanied Smelfungus to Turin, he would, doubtless, have agreed with that gentleman, that the amphitheatre was a cockpit; but he was here taught an important truth, that fatigue and hunger "need nae kitchen." After leaving the champaigne fields of England, and the fair ladies of Berwick, everything appeared to our Englishmen cold and hungry, gloomy and desolate. He entered upon the heaths and moors of the Press, "so strangely rotten and barren, that

they bore only a sort of moss, and some gorse, ling, or furze, and some parts of these, even on hills, would swallow up a horse!" Such are the exaggerated accounts we are perpetually meeting with in the military journalists of this period; and yet exaggeration is sometimes mixed up with a little matter of fact. The frontiers of Scotland represented a large battle-field, covered with a number of detached parties of skirmishers; here no village could thrive—no corn-field fertilize. The beautiful village of Dunglass, and the now thriving one of Cockburnspath, are represented as miserable places, with houses without chimnies.

Dunbar is never mentioned as a fortified town of any importance. The "strong stone wall" alluded to, was probably less for martial purposes than to keep out predatory wanderers. The castle was its stronghold, where, gazing like a vulture, perched on a rock, she was ready to pounce upon her prey. Every town, however, had its ports or gates for the receipt of customs, &c. Three arches of the town gates were standing in 1768, which were partly removed when pipes were laid down to bring water into the town. The first stood at the east entry to the High Street; the second at the west end of the West Port; and the third, on the north side of the foot of the High Street, leading to the harbour. The boys were wont to dress them with festoons of flowers at the Whitsunday fairs.

In regard to the buildings of Dunbar, there is nothing remarkable, with the exception of the church, which we have already had occasion to notice. The mansion of the Earl of Lauderdale is a large building, extending across the foot of the High Street, with a handsome portico in the front, looking towards the the sea, and the figure of a lama on the elevation next the town.* The town-house is an old inconvenient edifice, the jail being situated immediately beneath the council-chamber. At each end of the room are the arms of the Union, richly

* This house was originally built by the Messrs Fall, with its front entrance from the street, with a flight of steps, and the lama for its crest.

painted—the figures gilt.* The date of one is 1686. In 1822, handsome Assembly Rooms were built by subscription, at the foot of Craw's Wynd. The two principal inns were the St George and the New Inn, commodious and spacious houses. The former was renovated in 1828; the latter is now used to accommodate the militia officers and yeomanry.

The entry to Dunbar from the Edinburgh road was extremely awkward and narrow; but a plan for widening the West Port was put into execution in 1831, which made a material improvement, and added to the value of that street, as well as to the improvement of the town.

Adjoining the burgh were about fifty acres of land, called Dunbar Inner Common, including the Kirkhill and Gallowgreen, where the burgesses had the privilege of pasturing their cows and horses. In 1758, a piece of ground was laid out in a corner of the field as a washing-green or bleachfield, and a drying-house was built. It was customary to perambulate the Inner Common on the king's birth-day. It was mortgaged for debt due by the town, and sold by the mortgagee, in 1852, for L.5000. The Kirkhill was also included in the mortgage, and sold two years before, for L.650, to Dr James Kellie, and thereafter purchased by his Grace the Duke of Roxburghe, who has turned the barren rock into a field of agricultural produce.

Water.—Dunbar was imperfectly supplied with water till August, 1766, when an agreement was entered into by the town with Mr Hay of Spott, to bring water into the town, by means of leaden pipes, from St John's Well and the Smithy Well, two excellent springs near Spott, about two miles south from Dunbar. This improvement cost about L.1700, and was carried into effect in the course of a twelvemonth from the date of its commencement. By the 9th September, 1767, the water was

* Dunbar, in former times, had its Jack Ketch. The hangman's house and kailyard stood across the head of Silver Street. *En passant* we may notice, that Silver Street got its name from some coins being found there when the workmen were laying out the street. The Gallowgreen was the place of execution.

flowing in a pure current through the streets, and the pipes were laid in about two weeks thereafter. On laying the foundation-stone of the reservoir or main cistern, there was a masonic procession. This useful measure was carried into effect by Robert Fall, Esq., and the other magistrates, aided by contributions from the inhabitants.

Gas.—Fire, like water, now runs along our streets, in the shape of gas. Dunbar, like Haddington, first glowed with this brilliant light in 1836, when a company was formed, with a capital of 391 shares at L.5 each, which has afforded a fair remuneration to the shareholders. No shareholder is allowed to hold more than twenty shares. John Richardson, Esq., R.N., secretary; Mr John Cuthbert, manager.

Dunbar causeway was laid in 1737; and again, in 1769-70, the streets were new causeyed and side-pavements laid, yet they were not lighted with lamps till the 7th October, 1785. While the burgh was thus progressively improving itself, it was not unmindful of its neighbours; and, 10th July, 1778, the town subscribed fifteen guineas towards building a bridge at the boathouse of Tyninngham, and something considerable towards building the lofty bridge over the romantic Pease.*

* This bridge extends over a ravine or wooden chasm, upwards of 160 feet deep, little more than a mile from Cockburnspath, on the old post road, leading by the Press inn to Berwick. During the border wars, the Pass of Peaths formed an important obstacle to an invading army. This bridge was built in 1785-86, and consists of four arches, 123 feet in height, of which there is a view in "Grose's Scottish Antiquities." The beautiful scenery of Dunglas, in the neighbourhood, invites pic-nic parties here in summer.

Upon thy lofty banks, no more are seen
The Anglian warriors, in their red array,
Treading, with Somerset, the intricate way,
Sprinkling with burnished arms thy coverts green;
All now looks tranquil, "save when the lark springs
Scared by the angler in the depths beneath."

## CHAPTER III.

When civil dudgeon first grew high,
And men fell out, they knew not why;
When hard work, jealousies, and fears,
Set folks together by the ears,
And made them fight, like mad or drunk,
For *Burgh Politics*, as punk;
Whose honesty they all durst swear for,
Tho' not a man of them knew wherefore.
HUDIBRAS.

### THE CONGRESS, OR BURGH POLITICS IN 1737.—BURGH REFORM.—MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

DUNBAR, like other good old burghs "sixty years since," was an exclusive burgh, and its magistracy was, in some degree, opposed, as rulers in power always are, to the people; and, as a contemporary observes, "Olympus itself was not more unapproachable to mortals than the curule chair of Dunbar, or even the inferior offices, to all except a chosen few." The burgh (as we observed) joins with Jedburgh, Lauder, Haddington, and North Berwick, in sending a member to Parliament, and on these occasions considerable turbulence was excited in the framing of new parliaments. A most remarkable case of this kind occurred in 1734, which led to divisions and contested elections in the burghs, of which the good town of Dunbar had its due share. At this time our politicians were divided into two parties; those supposed to favour the ministry were styled the "Court Party," while the more popular, who had the suffrage of the community, were designated the "Country Party;" or, in

plainer terms, "Jacobites"—for the smothered hopes of the rebellion were not yet extinguished.

The rival candidates were Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, and Captain Fall, Dunbar; and as each had their partisans almost equally divided in the town council, it led to the most virulent contention.

Bailie George Erskine was delegated, May 14th, to go to Jedburgh on the 18th, to vote for a member of Parliament.* This was the watchword of discord in the burgh; for on the 22nd of the following August, Bailie G. Erskine presided, in consequence of the provost, Andrew Dickson, refusing to attend. It was then agreed that Mr Dickson should be prosecuted for exhibiting a bond from Sir James Dalrymple, and other noblemen and gentlemen in the shire, for considerable sums granted to the town.

Controverted elections of deacons and crafts counsellors followed on the 5th October, when it became a ground for argument, whether the old or new deacons should vote in these contests? And amongst the votes objected to in the merchant council on the 8th instant, was that of James Erskine, late provost, who, from holding the offices of music-master and precentor, was considered a servant of the town. The following were elected magistrates:—George Herriot, provost; Alexander Hepburn, Richard Robertson, and James Forrest, bailies; Alexander Walker, dean of guild; George Young, treasurer; and John Hay, bailie of Nungate. These were opposed by a well supported party, headed by John Herriot, a flesher, who was joined by Convener Sawers and the majority of the "nyne."† Things were carried with such keeness on both sides, that Provost

* On the 16th, Mr James Erskine, his brother, received a burgess ticket from the magistrates and council of Dunbar, for "the good services done, and to be done," for that burgh. Captain Fall was the successful candidate. The Congress were of his party.

† With pipes and drum, the colours flying,
To the town-hall the "Nyne" are hieing.

The "nyne" alluded to the nine deacons of the incorporated trades.

Herriot, backed by the mob, assembled before the convener's door to demand his vote: but he found him, like "Willie Wastle," invulnerable in his castle. Meanwhile the "opposition," who were nick-named "The Congress," not only managed, with wonderful dexterity, to bring up a mock magistracy, but had the skilfulness or plausibility to obtain a warrant from Lord Milton to imprison the whole of the real magistrates and council in Dunbar jail.

The sequel to these proceedings we shall copy from the London prints:—

"London, February 1.—Yesterday the House of Commons heard, and referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, a petition of Sir James Dalrymple, Bart.; another from the magistrates of Jedburgh, and of Robert Whitrope, George Scougal, and John Porteous, councillors of said burgh; another from the magistrates of Haddington; another from the magistrates of Lauder; another from the magistrates of North Berwick; also a petition of John Haswell, common clerk of Jedburgh, concerning the election of the district of burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, Dunbar, North Berwick, and Lauder.

"London, March 13.—The 12th instant, a petition of George Heriot, provost of the royal burgh of Haddington; Robert Forrest, brewer there; John Hay, saddler there; George Hunter, wheelwright there; and George Walker, skinner there, was presented to the house, and read—alleging that upon application made the 24th day of October last, by James Erskine, John Cluddel, Andrew Wilson, and others, assuming to themselves the names of magistrates in the said burgh, and complaining that the petitioners had disturbed them in the pretended execution of their offices, the Hon. Andrew Fletcher of Milton, one of the judges of the Court of Justiciary, and also of the Court of Session in Scotland, though there was evidently no foundation for such a complaint, without any jurisdiction to judge of the merits of election of magistrates for the said burgh, without any evidence laid before him, without any notice given to the peti-

tioners, or any of the persons concerned, and so, without hearing them or calling them before him, gave forth a summary warrant, directed to all officers whom it concerned, civil or military, to search for, seize, and apprehend, the persons of the petitioners, and many others, to the number of forty burgesses or inhabitants, whereof seventeen were acting as magistrates or councillors of the said burgh, wherever they shall be found in Scotland; and to imprison them within the nearest sure prison: that this warrant was lodged in the hands of Humphry Colquhoun, one of the macers or messengers of the Court of Justiciary, without the privity of any other of the judges of that court: and, as the petitioners have reason to believe, the said Andrew Fletcher ordered the said macer to take directions from Patrick Lindsay, provost of Edinburgh, as to the manner of executing the warrant; and such directions were accordingly given, as the petitioners have reason to believe, in writing: that this warrant was accompanied by an order from Brigadier Moyle, then acting as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, to the commanding officer of the dragoons quartered in Haddington, to assist with his dragoons in the execution of the warrant: that upon the 25th of said month, the petitioners were seized, and though the next sure prison was that of Haddington itself, or that of North Berwick; and though the petitioners desired to be committed there, or to be carried to Edinburgh, the seat of the courts of justice, where they might apply for redress, yet the said Humphry Colquhoun told them, his orders were to carry them to the prison of Dunbar, and no other place—a place twenty miles [now twenty-eight] distant from Edinburgh, and eight miles [now eleven] from Haddington: and though the pretended crime was bailable, and Alexander Hepburn, the sheriff substitute, to whom the petitioners applied, was by law empowered and willing to admit them to bail, the said Humphry Colquhoun told, that he could not dismiss them upon bail, his express orders being to take no bail, but commit his prisoners to the prison of Dunbar; where they were accordingly im-

prisoned, from the 25th to the 27th of October, till by a warrant from the Hon. David Erskine of Dun, another of the judges of the said Court of Justiciary and Session, the petitioners were set at liberty, and execution of the warrant was staid against the rest upon bail given by the petitioners and them; and that, since that time, no criminal prosecution has been moved for any of these pretended crimes: that these proceedings, as the petitioners apprehend, and are advised, were utterly illegal and oppressive, tending to destroy personal liberties and freedom of royal burghs, and the consequence of the freedom of elections of members of Parliament; and as the petitioners can hope for no redress but from the justice of Parliament, therefore praying to take the premises into consideration, and to grant relief."

A motion being made that the said petition be referred to the Committee of the whole House, it passed in the *negative!*

The following song, which was copied from the recitation of an old member of the merchant-council, would doubtless be considered a satirical flash in its day:—

ON THE CONGRESS.

Katty Mackie's lying sick,
And wat ye what will mend her?
Fifty shillings in a purse,
That Captain Fa' has sent her.
His love to her love,
Locked in a coffer—
My service to the bonny lass,
Katty Mackie's dochter.

The wabsters went unto Dunbar,
To sell their claith at venture;
But 'twas nae for to sell their claith,
But see their parliamenter.
The captain made them welcome guests,
Invited them to dine,
And, after dinner, did not spare
To treat them with the wine.

CHORUS.

O fie upon ye, Congress,
O fie upon ye, fie;
Had Tyne been made o' claret wine,
Ye wad hae drank it dry!

Here's your health, my Charlie, lad,
Take aff the other bottle!
Drink aff your glass right heartily,
'Twill gar you drive the shuttle,
'Twill gar you drive the shuttle,
And sae will it the spule,
If we had wanted your vote,
O we wad lost the dule!

Now Charlie raise to drink his health,
But louted down sae low,
He brak his nose upon the floor,
And brak the glass also!

There's wabsters and their can'lemakers,
And tailors wi' tree legs;
There's dirt drivers and cabbage eaters,
And Sandy Bower that begs.

O Simon Sawers got carts and horse,
And Laurie he got looms;
And Bairdy he got leather gude,
A' for to mend their shoons.

The next matter that agitated the burgh was the appointment of delegates to elect a member of parliament. This happened on the 30th March, 1768, under very particular circumstances. Jedburgh was the returning burgh, but the Court of Session having reduced the magistracy of that town for some illegal practices, considerable contention arose in regard to where the meeting should be held. The Sheriff of Haddington issued a precept appointing the burgh of Dunbar to the presidency, while the Sheriff of Berwickshire appointed Lauder, as next in rotation, to name the place where the member should be chosen. The town of Haddington, jealous of the right of the Sheriff of Berwick to nominate a place at all, and considering that by law, in the absence of a delegate from the presiding burgh, she was entitled to a casting vote in the case of equality; and as a matter of

expediency, and to assert her rights, three commissioners were appointed, viz., John M'Laren, of Dreghorn, advocate, to go to Jedburgh; James Dudgeon, dean of guild, to attend at Haddington; and David Rae, Esq., advocate, to appear at Dunbar; with provision, that wherever the election might be sustained, the vote of their commissioner might be held valid. The result was, that Lieutenant-Colonel Warrender was elected representative in Parliament for the classic burghs.

## BURGH REFORM.

This measure, which has engrossed so much attention in our times, was first agitated on the 8th March, 1787, when a letter was issued by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, as Preses of the Convention of Royal Burghs, respecting—1, A proposed reform in the constitution of the burghs of Scotland; 2, The encouragement of the linen manufacture; and 3, The extension of the fisheries, and improving the sea-coast of the kingdom. Men are so rooted to old prejudices that the principal points in this desirable object were opposed. The stream, however, once loosed from its embankments, was destined to run on, and as a presage of what good was to follow, the corporation and tests acts were repealed during the administration of the Duke of Wellington, on the 9th February, 1828. This paved the way for the renewed agitation of burgh reform. Accordingly, a bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, in March, 1831, which led to petitions from the classic burghs in favour of the measure. The bill passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Peers.

Meanwhile, while these measures were in progress, considerable exertions were made by the two great parties that ruled the Commons, to bring up their own candidates on a new general election. In 1831, Robert Steuart, Esq. of Alderston (Whig), entered the field against Sir Adolphus John Dalrymple, Bart. (Tory). The burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, and Lauder, voted for Mr S. at Jedburgh, on the 23rd May; but, owing to the abduction of one of the voters at Lauder (Bailie Simpson),

who was forcibly placed into a Haddington post-chaise, and carried off by the mob,* on the choosing of a delegate on the 4th May, his election was nullified by the House of Commons, and Sir Adolphus J. Dalrymple was returned as member for the burghs.

The reform bill was again brought forward in December, and ultimately passed the House of Lords, through the exertions of Earl Grey, on the 4th June, 1832; and the Scottish burgh reform bill received the royal assent on the 28th August, 1833.

The first election of a member to represent the burghs in the reformed British Parliament led to a severe contest between the Whig and Conservative parties, in which Mr Steuart was successful, Lord Maitland, who was the other candidate, having retired. In 1841, the Conservative party again gained the ascendancy. Sir Thomas B. Hepburn, Bart. of Smeaton, was elected for the county, and James Maitland Balfour, Esq., for the burghs. In 1847, Sir Henry Robert Ferguson Davie, Bart. of Creedy (Devonshire), was elected for the burghs, without opposition. And again, in July, 1852, although he was opposed by A. Campbell Swinton, Esq., he was successful. And, on the 23rd March, 1857, on the formation of a new Parliament, Sir Henry met the electors at Dunbar, and, on his progress through the burghs, was unopposed and successful.

A very ancient practice was abrogated by a majority of dissenters in the town council of Edinburgh, 16th November, 1843, anent members of the town council attending the magistrates to the kirk, when it was resolved "to discontinue their official attendance at church, and discharging the officers from carrying the mace or other insignia to any place of worship in time to come, or of the town council appearing in their robes," &c. We are not aware that this example has been followed, but rather the reverse; some burghs which had laid aside their

* The examination of witnesses afterwards led to scenes of riot in Haddington, which led to the imprisonment of parties unconnected with the abduction.

church paraphernalia, during the sweeping passing of the reform bill, having resumed it.

This act of the Edinburgh council was followed by a petition to her Majesty, from Provost Middlemass and the other magistrates of Dunbar, very wisely reprobating the measure. The town council of Haddington did the same.

## MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

The following is a list of the members of Parliament for the County and Haddington district of Burghs, since the union with Ireland:—

*First Imperial Parliament.*—Jan. 22, 1801.

The Hon. CHARLES HOPE of Waughton, ... *County*

(Mr Hope was seventh son of John, second Earl of Hopetoun.)

ROBERT BAIRD, Esq. of Newbyth, ... ... *Burghs*

The Hon. THOMAS MAITLAND succeeded Mr BAIRD, 10th March, 1802, on the latter accepting the Chiltern Hundreds.

*Dissolved, 29th June,* 1802.

*Second Imperial Parliament.*—Nov. 16, 1802.

The Hon. CHARLES HOPE of Waughton, ... *County*

The Honourable THOMAS MAITLAND, ... *Burghs*

JOHN DALRYMPLE, Esq., succeeded the Honourable T. MAITLAND, February 14, 1805.

Honourable HENRY ERSKINE, of Amondell, succeeded Mr DALRYMPLE, on his accepting the Chiltern Hundreds.

(Mr Erskine of Amondell was fourth son of Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan.)

*Dissolved, 24th October,* 1806.

*Third Imperial Parliament.*—December 15, 1806.

Major-General the Hon. CHARLES HOPE, ... *County*

The Honourable WILLIAM LAMB, ... ... *Burghs*

*Dissolved, 29th April,* 1807.

*Fourth Imperial Parliament*—June 22, 1807.

Major-General the Hon. CHARLES HOPE, ... *County*
Sir GEORGE WARRENDER, of Lochend, Baronet, *Burghs*

*Dissolved, 29th September*, 1812.

*Fifth Imperial Parliament.*—November 24, 1812.

Major-General the Hon. CHARLES HOPE, ... *County*
Sir JAMES GRANT SUTTIE, of Balgone and Prestongrange, Baronet, succeeded, 1817.
Hon. Sir THOMAS MAITLAND, ... ... *Burghs*
Captain the Hon. (now Admiral Sir) ANTHONY MAITLAND, K.C.B. and K.C.M.G., succeeded the Hon. Sir T. Maitland, on the latter being appointed to the government of Malta, Oct. 30, 1812.

*Dissolved, 10th June*, 1818.

*Sixth Imperial Parliament.*—June 14, 1819.

Sir JAMES GRANT SUTTIE, Baronet, ... ... *County*
Captain the Hon. ANTHONY MAITLAND, ... *Burghs*
Sir HEW DALRYMPLE HAMILTON, of North Berwick, Baronet, succeeded Captain Maitland, March 31, 1820.

*Dissolved 31st March*, 1820.

*Seventh Imperial Parliament.*—April 21, 1820.

Sir JAMES GRANT SUTTIE, Baronet, ... ... *County*
DUDLEY NORTH, Esq., ... ... ... *Burghs*
Sir HEW DALRYMPLE HAMILTON, Baronet, succeeded Mr North in 1821.

*Dissolved, 2nd June*, 1826.

*Eighth Imperial Parliament.*—November 14, 1826.

The Right Hon. Lord JOHN HAY, ... ... *County*
Colonel JAMES DALRYMPLE, ... ... *Burghs*

*Dissolved, 24th July*, 1830.

*Ninth Imperial Parliament.*—October 26, 1830.

The Right Hon. Lord JOHN HAY, ... ... *County*

George Grant Suttie, Esq., yr. of Prestongrange (now Sir George), was also a candidate.

Sir ADOLPHUS JOHN DALRYMPLE, Baronet, High Mark, *Burghs*
*Dissolved, 23rd April,* 1831.

*Tenth Imperial Parliament.*—June 14, 1831.

JAMES BALFOUR, Esq. of Whittingham, ... *County*

| | |
|---|---|
| Election, 9th May.—Voted for Mr Balfour, ... ... | 40 |
| Voted for Sir David Baird, Baronet, of Newbyth, ... | 11 |
| Majority for Mr Balfour, ... ... | 29 |

ROBERT STEUART, Esq. of Alderston, ... *Burghs*

The burghs of Haddington, Jedburgh, and Lauder, voted for Mr Steuart at Jedburgh, 22nd May, 1831, but owing to the abduction of one of the voters in a riot at Lauder, on the chusing of a delegate, 4th May, the election of Mr Steuart was nullified by the House of Commons, when the other candidate,

Sir ADOLPHUS J. DALRYMPLE, Bart., was returned for the *Burghs*
*Dissolved, 3rd December,* 1832.

*Eleventh Imperial Parliament.*—January 29, 1833.

ELECTED UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUENCY.

JAMES BALFOUR, Esq. of Whittingham, ... *County*

| | |
|---|---|
| Voted for Mr Balfour, ... ... ... ... ... | 271 |
| Sir David Baird, Baronet, ... ... ... | 232 |
| Majority for Mr Balfour, ... ... | 39 |

ROBERT STEUART, Esq. of Alderston, ... *Burghs*

Lord Maitland was the other candidate, but withdrew.

*Dissolved, 30th December,* 1834.

*Twelfth Imperial Parliament.*—February 19, 1835.

ROBERT FERGUSON, Esq., of Raith, ... ... *County*

| | |
|---|---|
| Voted for Mr Ferguson, ... ... ... ... ... | 268 |
| J. T. Hope, Esq., ... ... ... ... | 231 |
| Majority for Mr Ferguson, ... | 37 |

ROBERT STEUART, Esq., ... ... ... *Burghs*

In 1836, Mr Steuart being appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury, a new election was requisite, when the same gentleman was returned without opposition.

*Dissolved, 17th July,* 1837.

*Thirteenth Imperial Parliament.*—November 15, 1837.

The Right Hon. Lord RAMSAY (now Marquis of Dalhousie), *County*

| | |
|---|---|
| Election, 31st July.—Voted for Lord Ramsay, ... ... | 301 |
| Voted for Mr Ferguson of Raith, ... ... ... ... | 208 |
| Majority for Lord Ramsay, ... | 93 |

Mr Ferguson having retired at the close of the first day's poll, only a part of the constituency voted.

On the death of the Earl of Dalhousie in 1838, Lord Ramsay being called to the House of Peers, a new election for the county took place, when

Sir THOMAS B. HEPBURN, Bart., was elected without opposition.

ROBERT STEUART, Esq. ... ... ... *Burghs*

| | |
|---|---|
| Election, 24th July.—Voted for Mr Stewart, ... ... | 268 |
| Voted for Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, Baronet, ... | 237 |
| Majority for Mr Steuart, ... | 31 |

*Dissolved, 23rd June, 1841.*

*Fourteenth Imperial Parliament.*—August 19, 1841.

Sir THOMAS BUCHAN HEPBURN, Baronet, ... *County*

JAMES MAITLAND BALFOUR, Esq. of Whittingham, *Burghs*

| | |
|---|---|
| Voted for Mr Balfour, ... ... ... ... ... | 273 |
| Robert Steuart, Esq., ... ... ... ... | 264 |
| Majority for Mr Balfour, ... | 9 |

*Dissolved, 23rd July, 1847.*

*Fifteenth Imperial Parliament.*—Nov. 18, 1847.

The Honourable FRANCIS CHARTERIS, ... *County*

| | |
|---|---|
| Voted for Mr Charteris, ... ... ... ... ... | 271 |
| Sir David Baird, Baronet, of Newbyth, ... | 136 |
| Majority for Mr Charteris, ... | 135 |

Sir David Baird retired at the close of the first day's poll.

Major-General Sir HENRY R. F. DAVIE, Bart. of Creedy, *Burghs*

*Dissolved, 1st July, 1852.*

*Sixteenth Imperial Parliament.*

The Hon. FRANCIS CHARTERIS (not opposed), ... *County*

Sir Henry Robert Ferguson Davie, Baronet, *Burghs*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Election, 14th July.—Voted for Sir H. R. F. Davie, | ... | 312 |
| Voted for Professor A. Campbell Swinton, | ... ... | 185 |
| Majority for Sir Henry Ferguson Davie, | | 127 |

The Hon. Francis Charteris (now Lord Elcho), re-elected for the county (11th January, 1853), on being appointed Scotch Lord of the Treasury.

*Dissolved, 21st March, 1857.*

*Seventeenth Imperial Parliament.*

The Right Hon. Lord Elcho, re-elected for the county (Monday, 30th March, 1857). His lordship was absent in Italy at the time of the election.

Sir Henry Robert Ferguson Davie, Bart., re-elected for the burghs (30th March, 1857).

## CHAPTER IV.

Soft blew the gales of autumn on thy cliffs,
Dunbar! and fann'd the beauteous glowing Forth,
While vessels bounded o'er the spangled waves,
And shoals of herrings skimm'd below the keels,
Like silver fishes 'neath the crystal floor
Of eastern palaces, when prosperous years
Had brought a vast assemblage to thy shores
From Holland and the Isles.

THE LOST DRAVE.

### THE PORT OF DUNBAR.—FISHERIES.—SHIPPING.—VICTORIA HARBOUR.

THE port of Dunbar was originally situated at Belhaven, probably because it was of easier access from the west than the rugged entrance of Lammer-haven, and probably because in these warlike times the garrison of the castle would view with jealousy the arrival of foreign vessels, even although of the most insignificant description. So early as the middle of the twelfth century, betwixt the years 1147 and 1166, Cospatrick, Earl of Dunbar, granted for the commercial accommodation of the monks of May, "a full toft near his port of Bele," free from all customs.* This toft appears to have been situated in Dunbar, where these monastics built a house. The burgh continued with little variation in its shipping till the epoch of the Revolution, when it had only two barques and sixteen herring boats.

The town, however, seems early to have been a place of importance as a fishing station; and in 1577, it was the rendezvous of the Dutch as well as of the Scots fishery, when 1000

* About 1168, William the Lion confirmed to the monks of May, "Unam mansuram, cum tofto, in Dunbar."—Chalmers' Cal. ii.

boats were wrecked on the coast. In 1598, the assize of herring from the east coast amounted to L.1120 for dry killing; and, in 1614, it paid L.2000 Scots, and L.1510 of fine; and, in 1656-59, L.130 sterling.

Tucker, in his communication to the commissioners appointed by Cromwell, gives the following account of the trade of Dunbar in 1656 :—"The town of Dunbar is a fisher-town, famous for the herring fishing, which are caught thereabout and brought thither, and afterwards cured and barrelled up, either for merchandise or sale to the country people, who come thither, far and near, at the season, which is from about the middle of August to the latter end of September." And, in 1661, John Ray observes in his Itinerary—"There is a great confluence of people at Dunbar to the herring fishery; and they told us, sometimes to the number of 20,000 persons; but we did not see how so small a town could contain, indeed, give shelter, to such a multitude." This multitude, however, would not be stationary at one point, but come and go according to circumstances.

Campbell, in his "Political Survey of Great Britain in 1774," says (speaking of the port of Dunbar)—"The herring fishery is sometimes very profitable—these herrings, in point of quality, as well as size, being generally esteemed superior to those caught by the Dutch."

The herring fishery in the Forth commences annually about the end of July, and continues nearly two months. About the beginning of the present century, the herrings were taken in such plenty, that they were sold at ½d. per dozen; and as there was a greater quantity caught than could be immediately cured, the refuse was absolutely driven to manure the fields. In 1819, there were employed at Dunbar alone about 280 boats, and in them nearly 2000 men. The following year (1820) the fishery, though not so well attended, employed upwards of 200 boats, which brought daily from thirty to sixty crans each, price from 4s. to 5s. per cran. It is computed that nearly 35,000 barrels

were cured there in a season. In 1858, the traffic has greatly increased, as will be noticed in the course of this chapter.

The manner in which this fishery was carried on is similar to the plan of the old Dutch fishery, which renders it extremely beneficial to the country. The boats belong partly to fishermen, who employ the rest of the year in catching white fish, and partly to landsmen, who build and equip them in the way of adventurers. An adventure of this kind is called a drave, and is thus managed:—Two or three fishermen associate with five or six landsmen—for there are commonly eight or nine men to a boat. Each fisherman has at least two nets of his own; one is appointed as skipper, who lays in provisions and other necessaries, and receives the money for what is sold. When the season terminates, the accounts are made up, and after discharging the expenses, what remains is divided into eight or nine shares, or as they call them, *deals*. The proprietor of the boat draws one deal, every fisherman half a deal, every two nets half a deal, every landsman who is capable of working two nets half a deal—thus all parties are interested in profit and loss.

In ancient times a certain quantity of herrings were taken for the king's kitchen, which was afterwards commuted into a tax of ten shillings upon every sizeable boat. There was also a duty paid to the High Admiral's deputy, who presided over the fishery. This has fallen into desuetude; but the town exacts the 1-15th fish as vicarage teind. The fishers still appoint one of their number, whom they style Admiral, to arrange the order of sailing, &c., and two chancellors, to whom all disputes are referred.

The herring, however, is a flirtish little animal, and for some years, about 1830, either completely deserted the coast, or came in such small shoals, that the Dunbar fishers preferred going to Holy Island or to the Caithness fishery. Various reasons were assigned for this dereliction of the silvery fry. Some alleging that the fishers, for purposes best known to themselves, think "foreign fowls have the fairest feathers;" and others sur-

mising that those terrible leviathans, the steamers, frighten them away with their noisy wheels. Such is not the case now.

In 1830, there were 133 open boats belonging to the custom-house district of Dunbar (*i. e.* betwixt Gullane Point and Berwick bounds), licensed to be employed in fishing within certain limits. All boats required to be licensed, except such as were employed in inland navigation, or those used by pilots.

The fishing on the coast is chiefly for white-fish, lobsters, and crabs, after the herrings have disappeared.

The number of boats that congregate at Dunbar during the herring season is from 500 to 600. The number of herrings sent from Dunbar in 1855, by railway alone, and for immediate consumption in the inland towns, was 4303 tons, mostly *reds*, and which would yield to the fishermen about L.51,636.

In 1857, the season being stormy, and the fishing uncertain, herrings sold as high as 23s. to 30s. per barrel.

In 1858, it turned out more productive, and sales averaged from 15s. to 23s. per barrel. Some boats cleared from L.30 to L.40 in a morning; and many during the season earned above L.200—some the length of L.300 to L.400.

The herring drave is the marine harvest of Dunbar. White-fish curing is also carried on to a considerable extent.

A small neglected shell-fish, the periwinkle or sea-snail (commonly called the whelk) now forms an article of commerce, in which a number of women are employed in gathering, from the rocks below Scoughall farm, along the shore as far as Thorntonloch. This crustaceous denizen of the rock is purchased by the English fishmongers, at the rate of from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d per bushel.

### HARBOUR AND SHIPPING.

The harbour of Dunbar, although of difficult access, is excellently adapted both by nature and art as a place of security. It has in depth nine feet of water in neap, and fourteen feet in spring tides; and admits vessels of 300 tons burthen. Before the Revolution, it appears only to have been capable of accom-

modating vessels of a very small description, or such as were employed in the herring fishery. In December, 1655, it suffered so severely by a tempestuous storm, that the inhabitants were compelled to petition Parliament for aid in its reparation;* and in 1658, when the "outer head" and "cross dike" were demolished, they applied, for the same purpose, to the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh. It was probably these disastrous circumstances that induced Cromwell to grant L.300 towards defraying the expense of the east pier, which was begun during the time of the protectorate.

For some years before 1735, the harbour had become almost ruinous, so that all the means at the command of the corporation, were insufficient to put it in repair. So national was the repair of the harbour then considered, that the Lord High Chancellor in that year issued a brieve authorising collections to be made throughout Scotland and England, but excepting Wales, for the purpose of assisting in the repairs. The General Assembly keenly took up the subject, and recommended collections at all the church doors; and the Convention of Burghs did

* The following is the copy of a letter, which was addressed by Mr Lorrain, preses of the Council, on the state of the harbour:—

My Lords,—The inhabitants off Dumbar, in Scotland, heir by yr supplione to his Heines, represend the great damidg and prejudice qch they and the whole cuntry, from Berwik to Leith, and a great pt of that natione have sustened through demolishing off the harbor off Dumbar by a great & tempestuous storm in the moneth off Decr. 1655, yr being left, as is aledged, no saiff shelter ffor the hering fisching, qch being yeirlj at that plaice is the onlj lyvlyehood of many persones in that natione. And, albeit yor lordshipes did, vpon that consideratione, grant the petitioners sum ease off yr cess-monj, qch was ane incouradgement to them to endevor the repairing thereoff; yet the same hath proved ineffectuall throw the greatnes off the work and the indigencie off the people, and trfor they ar humble sutors for additionall help, aither out off the excyse off yt brought, the cysse off herringes, or in such vyr way as shall be thot fitt. His Henes and the Counsall heve trfor thot it fit to recomend it to yor Lo. to consider off the caisse, and off the public detriment yt heath rissen by distroying off the said herbor, and to afford sum additionall assistance, in such way & proportone as you shall judg fitt, for enabling the petitioner to repar the same.

Signed in name, and by ordor off his Henes and Counsall,

He. Laurain, Pres.

Whytehall, 7th May, 1657.

the same through all the burghs. A large sum was anticipated, and the collector was sent to London for the purpose of influencing the metropolis; but he unfortunately died there, and the proceeds came far short of expectation. So anxious were all parties on the subject, that the then clergyman of Dunbar, with a deputation of the corporation, went through the parish soliciting donations.

On January 14th, 1774, a tremendous breach was made in that part of the pier called the Round Head, by a raging sea, accompanied with a strong north-easterly wind, when, as a temporary barrier against the waves, 400 bags of sand were collected to fill up the opening. In the ensuing year, they commenced boring at the Island, for the purpose of widening the harbour, when one man was killed and another wounded. It was probably about this time, too, that the harbour was enlarged and deepened, by digging, upon an average, eight feet deep into the solid rock, when very commodious quays were built. In 1785, the harbour was farther improved and deepened; and a new pier was built on the rock that forms the west entry, to which the convention of royal burghs, with a laudable munificence, voted L.600; and a few years afterwards a convenient dry-dock was also built, but which is now unfortunately removed.

### VICTORIA HARBOUR.

Victoria Harbour was built in 1842, under the superintendence of the Fishery Board, the town contributing L.4500, and giving the use of a quarry at the Kirkhill. The lowest estimate was preferred, at the the sum of L.12,990. So various was the opinion of the nature of the work, that the estimates varied from that sum up to L.24,245.

The foundation stone of "Victoria Harbour" was laid on Tuesday, 27th September, 1842, by the Right Hon. the Earl (now Marquis) of Dalhousie, provincial grand-master for East Lothian. The different masonic bodies, consisting of deputations from Edinburgh, Musselburgh, Morison's-haven, Haddington, North

Berwick, Dunse, Eyemouth, &c., having joined the Dunbar Castle Lodge, marshalled at one o'clock, and walked in procession to the site of the new harbour, an arch of evergreens decorating the spot assigned for the foundation stone. After an impressive prayer by the chaplain (the Rev. Robert Moore, A.M., minister of Oldhamstocks), a bottle, hermetically sealed, containing newspapers, almanacs, and coins, with lists of the magistrates, office-bearers of the lodges and other public bodies, was deposited by the grand-secretary, Charles H. Davidson, Esq., Haddington. The stone was then lowered, and the grand-master, the Earl of Dalhousie, gave instructions to Sheriff Riddell, and other competent office-bearers in his train, to finish the business of the day with all the honours due to the "mystic tie." The noble Earl, in an eloquent speech, addressed the meeting, to which Provost Middlemass made an admirable reply. He stated "that he had received her Majesty's gracious permission to designate the harbour, which was to be of such vast importance, not to Dunbar only, but to the adjacent country, and the stone of which had been so auspiciously laid—VICTORIA HARBOUR." This announcement was received with loud cheering from the multitude. The union-jack, which had triumphantly waved on the walls of the old castle during the morning, was lowered, and one with "Victoria Harbour" emblazoned on its front, hoisted in its place, while the guns of the battery fired a salute. The scene was highly imposing—like everything connected with freemasonry, a pleasant enthusiasm animated the assemblage, many of whom had come from a considerable distance to witness an object of such extensive utility, on which the welfare of thousands depended—while the caverned rocks, which in less peaceful times rung with the exploits of the gallant Ramsays, echoed the voice of congratulation of their noble descendant. The procession, preceded by music, returned by the High Street; and at four o'clock a company of about 300 sat down to dinner, Provost Middlemass in the chair, supported by the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir George Warrender of Lochend, Bart.; Captain

Hunter of Thurston; James Hamilton, Esq. of Ninewar; James Maitland Balfour, Esq., M.P.; Simon Sawers, Esq. of Newhouse, &c. The ceremonies of the day were concluded with a ball in the Assembly Rooms.

The works had not proceeded far, when it was considered that they were too light for the exposure, and after various remonstrances, both by the town and contractors, Mr James Walker, C.E., was sent by the Admiralty to inspect and report. In consequence of his inspection, a further expenditure of more than L.2000 was made. But even with this additional strength, fears were entertained for the stability of the work; and so early did this manifest itself, that the corporation declined to undertake the preservation of the harbour. From time to time repeated injury was sustained; and, although repaired by Government, no substantial improvement of the works took place.

In the end of 1856, a breach was made through the sea-wall, which required immediate attention, to prevent the whole fabric from becoming a ruin.

In January, 1857, there seemed a disposition on the part of the Treasury to give some assistance for the protection of the works, and the corporation appointed Mr Ritchie, town-clerk, and Bailie Barclay, as a deputation to go to London, to give explanations and agitate the question. The inhabitants also held a meeting, and appointed Mr Ellis Dudgeon and Mr Peter H. Hume as a deputation from the community. By their untiring firmness and perseverance, they succeeded in interesting a large and influential number of the Scotch members in their favour, and at a private meeting it was resolved to ask an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At this interview, which was more numerously attended than the private one, the deputation were much indebted to Major-General Sir Henry R. Ferguson Davie, Bart., M.P. for the five classive burghs, and many other Scotch members, who, with the Right Hon. R. C. Nisbet Hamilton of Beil and Dirleton, M.P., Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Sir John Hall of Dunglass, and Sir John Warrender of

Lochend, as a deputation from the county, warmly supported their views. This laid the foundation for subsequent interviews between James Wilson, Esq., M.P., Secretary for the Treasury, and the Clerk and Bailie. These ended in a grant of L.10,000, and a loan of L.20,000, for strengthening the sea-wall, making a wharf on the land side, and deepening the area four feet below ebb, on the security of the Victoria harbour dues, and three-fourth parts of the teind dues of both harbours. But the securing of the grant was a work of time, and required four additional journies to London of the corporation deputation; and to their honour be it recorded, that the whole of these gentlemen undertook the trouble and responsibility without any fee or reward. The last deputation received the gratitude of their fellow-townsmen in a public demonstration; for, on their arrival, a boat, decorated with flags, preceded by a band of music, was in attendance at the railway station, and in this vehicle they were conducted through the town to the strains of appropriate music.

It may be mentioned, that before the deputation first left for London, the clerk had prepared and received the sanction of the corporation to a statement, a copy of which, on arriving in London, was placed in the hands of every Scotch member, and followed up by an explanatory interview, which called forth universal sympathy.

On Wednesday, the 24th November, 1858, the inhabitants were agreeably surprised by the "auld clock hammer ringing the bell," announcing the tidings from the authorities that the negotiations had been completed, and the money paid into the town's account with the Commercial Bank. In commemoration of the event, the fishermen, and those employed in the repair, paraded the streets with a boat, drawn on a hurdle, covered with ship flags, and were regaled with ale from Belhaven Brewery In the evening there was a display of fireworks, and about fifty gentlemen supped in the Freemasons' Hall.

The building of the outer wall and deepening are in progress.

When finished, it is considered there will be accommodation for from 700 to 800 boats at Dunbar, with water sufficient to go in and out at all times of the tide. The importance of this undertaking may be readily estimated, when it is known that during the herring fishing in 1858, there were nightly at the fishing-ground, from 600 to 1200 boats, congregated from various parts of Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland, as well as from the French coast. Had a violent storm arisen, not more than 400 could have found shelter.

### THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.

The custom-house was established in 1710, and comprehended in its jurisdiction the whole coast from Berwick bounds to Scoughal shore. On the abolition of the custom-house at Prestonpans, North Berwick was also added to the district, which now extends as far as Gullane Point, and is ranked as a member-port of Leith.

To the custom-house succeeded the Coast Guard, about 1821. Their jurisdiction extends from Whitekirk to Thorntonloch. Lieutenant G. A. Taylor, R.N., commandant; William B. Kendall, chief boatman, with four men.

Here the traveller was never harassed for a passport—

> He went ashore without delay,
> Having no custom-house nor quarantine,
> To ask him awkward questions on the way,
> About the time and place where he had been.—Byron.

A boat was attached to the custom-house service, for the prevention of smuggling, &c., which at one time was carried on to a considerable extent, and to render assistance to ships stranded on the coast. During the French revolutionary war, a signal-station was erected at the Battery, which communicated with Blackcastle, North Berwick Law, Garleton-hill, &c. The Battery was fortified with fourteen guns, commanded by a lieutenant and five men.

In 1752, the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Com-

pany was established at Dunbar, and consisted of the principal landed gentlemen in the neighbourhood, in all 199 shares. At one time they had five ships engaged in this trade, of 1532 tons burthen, which employed 238 seamen. While the company was in a flourishing condition, the rigging out and furnishing of these vessels created a considerable bustle about the place; but this firm, like other joint-stock concerns, when people enter into a traffic that they do not understand, failed in its object. No dividend was paid after 1785; and the company dissolved itself by mutual consent in 1804, with a debt of L.3383 on its head—minus L.17 sterling per share.

The export trade of Dunbar was principally confined to the produce of an agricultural district, while its imports were chiefly wood and iron for the supply of the adjacent country. In 1792, there were only sixteen vessels belonging to the port, amounting in all to 1505 tons burthen and 100 men, employed in the foreign and coasting trade; and two Greenland ships of 675 tons and 97 men; but it will be seen by the subjoined statement that the trade of Dunbar is now materially increased.

In 1830, six vessels belonging to Dunbar were generally employed in the foreign trade, which were navigated by forty-one men, whose principal traffic was the importation of wood and grain from the Baltic; and there were other two vessels, with a crew of nine men, occasionally employed in the same manner, and at other times in carrying whisky to London, while there were twenty-seven vessels, with a crew of eighty-eight men, employed solely in the coasting trade, in carrying coals, corn, whisky, herrings, &c., from one port to another in Great Britain.

There were also five vessels belonging to the creek of Eyemouth, navigated by fifteen men, and four vessels belonging to North Berwick, with a crew of thirteen men. These vessels were confined to the coasting trade, and were employed in a manner similar to those of Dunbar.

The quantity of coals imported at Dunbar in the year 1828, including her creeks, was—

13,974 tons of Scotch coals ; and
8500 imperial chaldrons of English ditto.

The fir timber imported from foreign parts, in 1830, was—

715 loads, 24 feet (50 feet to a load).
129 long hundreds of deals and battens (long hundred of 120).

The quantity of corn imported was—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat, | ... | ... | 1662½ quarters. |
| Barley, | ... | ... | 19,205½ ditto. |
| Oats, | ... | ... | 842 ditto. |
| Wheat Flour, | ... | ... | 220 sacks. |
| Buck Wheat, | ... | ... | 561 quarters. |

The corn exported in the same year was—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat, | ... | ... | 9068½ quarters. |
| Barley, | ... | ... | 1958¾ ditto. |
| Oats, | ... | ... | 3105½ ditto, |
| Beans and Pease, | | ... | 3962½ ditto. |
| Malt, | ... | ... | 2173 ditto. |
| Wheat Flour, | ... | ... | 2173 sacks. |

The whisky exported was 203,276 gallons.

The trade of the port in 1830 was improved on the market being thrown open for the exportation of whisky to England. There were five distilleries in the county, which readily consumed the barley imported; now there is but one, at Haddington.

In 1827, the ballast of the harbour yielded a revenue of L.31, 15s. ; in 1858, L.40, 18s. 6½d. The increase is owing to the ample use of manure for the fields. The boom-pier and pier-rope yielded L.48, 19s. 4d.

There is a manufactory for cordage and sail-cloth, lines, twine, &c., in the establishment of Messrs Barclay & Anderson.

Ship-building was carried on to a considerable extent at one time, by Mr Walter Simpson and David Laing (the hero of these shores), chiefly confined to vessels for the accommodation of the port, which no longer exists. Boats, however, are occasionally repaired at the Wood Bush.

### BAROMETER FOR THE FISHERMEN.

Mr William Brodie, Seafield Brickwork, conceived the idea of having a barometer erected at the harbour of Dunbar, for the benefit of fishermen. This gentleman having occasion to visit the fishing town of Eyemouth, to deliver one of his biological lectures, in behalf of the "Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association," his attention was directed to a group of fishermen gazing upon a barometer. These hardy seamen were discussing the propriety of going to sea, as the instrument was indicating a change in the atmosphere. Upon which (says Mr Brodie) I asked an old seaman what he thought of the barometer? to which he replied—"Many a coarse blast, and many a life it has saved. We counted ourselves guid judges o' the weather before we got it, but this is the best ane. If ye was comin' here at twa o'clock i' the mornin' ye wad see them burnin' lucifer matches, keekin' at it, in case ony change had ta'en place durin' the nicht."

It occurred to Mr Brodie, that if the fishing town of Eyemouth could furnish such a valuable instrument, why not the royal burgh of Dunbar, where, during the herring season, from fifteen to twenty-five hundred men are employed, besides those belonging to the port, during the year. Accordingly, at the instance of this patriotic gentleman, a subscription was elicited, in which he was ably supported by Messrs P. H. Hume, Lawfield; R. Hood, Linhead; and Bailie Barclay, Dunbar.

Through the exertions of the committee, the sum of L.112, 7s. 9d. was realised to cover the expenses. Of this sum Mr Brodie contributed L.26, besides L.15 realised from his biological lectures. The barometer was furnished by Alexander Adie & Son, Edinburgh, with a case and an appropriate sculpture, representing a fisherman leaving his family on the quay, surmounted by a festoon of shell-work, from the chisel of that eminent artist, Alex. Handyside Ritchie, Esq., Edinburgh. Finished 24th May, 1856.

To this undertaking the Duke of Roxburghe and the Earl of Haddington contributed L.10 each. We cannot help quoting a card from the late Earl of Haddington to Mr Brodie, shewing how heartily that benevolent and excellent nobleman entered into the praiseworthy spirit of the proceeding:—

TYNNINGHAME, May 14th, 1856.

SIR,—I have just received your letter and its enclosure. At this moment I can only say that I most cordially approve, and will most certainly contribute. I think great credit is due to you for your energy and humanity. As by your account the building is finally arranged, if not nearly finished, I will not enter into the question as to how far it was expedient to arrive at an erection "*superior to anything in Britain.*" This extra expense will in no degree add to the very great value and importance of your kind and charitable undertaking, which ought not to put you to the expense of one shilling. I wish to know, before I enter my name on the list you enclosed, to what amount of subscriptions you have already received.—I remain, dear Sir, your most obedt. servt.,

(Signed) HADDINGTON.

The Cove fishing village was indebted to the munificence of Sir John Hall, Bart., for a barometer in 1857. One has also been erected at North Berwick.

## CHAPTER V

Think you now behold
Upon the hempen tackle ship-boys climbing,
Hear the shrill whistle, which doth order give
To sounds confused. Behold the threading sails,
Borne with the invisible and creeping wind,
Draw the huge bottom through the furrow'd sea,
Breasting the lofty surge.—SHAKSPERE.

SHIPWRECKS.—FOX MAN-OF-WAR.—PALLAS AND NYMPH FRIGATES.—JOHN AND AGNES OF NEWCASTLE.—THE CZAR OF LEITH.—DISASTERS OF A NIGHT.—SMUGGLERS, ETC.

THE rock-girt coast of Dunbar has been the theatre of many shipwrecks, and the sands of Tyne the grave of many a gallant vessel. Our limits, however, will only allow us to notice a few of the most remarkable. In a strong gale from the north-east, during the night of the 14th November, 1746, the Fox man-of-war, Captain Beaver, commander, was cast away near Dunbar, and all on board perished. At the same time, the Trial sloop-of-war was lost at Holy Island, and one of the custom-house yachts.

The last time the Fox was discovered was to the eastward of the island of May. It is supposed that she struck upon some of the half-ebb rocks near the castle, and lost her bottom, and that the wreck afterwards drifted to Tyne Sands, where she was swallowed up in the Horner's-hole, about one mile east from Tyne-water mouth, part of her rigging having at times been seen there. Most of the corpses were found at the back of the castle, and others at West Barns Links, where they were buried. The Fox fireship, under Captain Killingworth, had been engaged in the battle of La Hogue. She was at the period of this disaster one of the guard-ships stationed in Leith Roads, during

the time of the rebellion, and had on board great part of the plate and other property belonging to the nobility and gentry engaged in the king's cause, as also the fire-arms and other accoutrements belonging to the burgh of Dunbar.

Before proceeding farther with our short narrative, we must, in the first place, take some notice of the life-boat, as she was actively engaged in the disasters we have to record. The want of a boat of this description had long been severely felt on the coast of East Lothian, and it was in consequence of the inhabitants of Dunbar and its vicinity having witnessed the "pelting of the pitiless storm" on a stranded vessel at Thorntonloch, when one of the exhausted crew was brought on shore, only to exchange a watery for an earthy grave, that there sympathies were awakened to the necessity of some remedy. Accordingly, an "address to the public" was drawn up by Mr G. Miller, Dunbar, and by him printed and circulated gratuitously; and at the same time a committee was formed for transacting the business attendant on this benevolent scheme,* and in a short time, L.371, 19s. 1d. was collected by public subscription, thus showing that the public were feelingly alive to the necessity of the undertaking. It is a singular fact, that the boat was declared to be in readiness on the 14th October, 1808 (just one year from the first meeting of the committee), and the following morning she was put into actual service, under Mr David Laing, long the hero of these shores, for the purpose of rendering assistance to his majesty's sloop-of-war Cygnet, then in a state of great jeopardy on the coast. The boat, in this her first journey, had to be conveyed to Lumsden-shore, more than twelve miles east from Dunbar, the nearest point from which she could be launched, and horses were readily furnished by the tenantry on this meritorious occasion. Happily the wind shifting from the shore, the vessel was enabled to weather the storm; but the ap-

* The Committee consisted of Mr G. Miller, bookseller; Mr William Brown, accountant of the British Linen Company's Bank, Dunbar; and Mr David Laing, shipbuilder.

pearance of the boat over the rocks on the evening of the 15th, as Captain Dix states, in his certificate to Mr Laing, "gave great hopes to all on board, who had been so long in expectation of being dashed to pieces;" while the seamen welcomed her approach by repeated discharges of cannon.

On the night of the 18th December, 1810, about half-past ten o'clock, some people on the shore of Dunbar were alarmed by the appearance of blue lights or rockets to the eastward. This proceeded from the Pallas frigate, which, in company with the Nymph frigate, was returning from a cruise in the North seas, when, mistaking the lights of some limekilns in the neighbourhood for the Isle of May, and the May for the Bell Rock, they both ran ashore to the eastward of the town. The Nymph ran so close up to the drawkiln below Skateraw, that the sailors landed by means of the masts when they went overboard. The tenantry, alarmed by the signal guns, had previously come to their assistance. The Pallas, however, was less fortunate. She had struck on a reef of rugged rocks a little to the east of Broxmouth Park and the Vault shore; her keel was literally torn asunder, and from the rate at which the vessels were going, which was calculated at ten knots an hour, the shock must have been dreadful. From the pitchy darkness of the night, it was impossible to render the crew any assistance, or even to ascertain their situation, till the dawn of day, when they were beheld clinging to the wreck, exposed to the breakers of a tremendous sea, while the strand was strewed with planks, beams, spars, casks, and all the machinery of a shipwreck.

A party of the Royals, then in quarters in the barracks, mounted guard over the wreck, and, along with the inhabitants who had come to the spot, gave every other necessary assistance. As soon as it was practicable, the life-boat was launched, under the direction of Mr Laing, and succeeded in landing two cargoes, to the number of from forty to fifty men, and in a way that called forth the greatest encomiums from the spectators. On taking in her third cargo, considerable confusion ensued, partly

from the number of people crowding into her, by which she was overloaded, and from the difficulty of getting on board the captain, who had fallen down in a state of complete exhaustion. On observing this accident, Mr Laing, unfortunately quitting the important post of steersman, rushed to his assistance, when the boat, broaching-to, upset; and being by this accident thrown into water too shallow for her recovering, in consequence of her projecting stems getting entangled among the rocks, from which the tide had considerably ebbed, it was utterly impossible she could regain her right position.* Mr Laing himself made a narrow escape; he caught hold of a rope from the frigate, but a drowning man seizing it at the same instant, got his legs over Mr Laing's shoulders, and completely immersed him in the waves, from which with difficulty he extricated himself, and got on board the frigate.

Next to the exertions of Mr Laing, the conduct of the Duchess of Roxburghe was above all praise. The rooms of Broxmouth House were prepared with mattresses and hot blankets for the reception of the half-drowned crew, as they were carried from the shore in a helpless state; and through the unremitting attention of Drs Johnson and Turnbull, the whole (with the exception of the first lieutenant of the Pallas and two sailors) were so far recovered as to be able to leave Broxmouth in the evening. When the first lieutenant was brought on shore, he was apparently dead, and an hour and a half elapsed before he was able to move from the beach. Ten of the seamen, and a man belonging to the port, perished; amongst whom were some of the best swimmers, who, in attempting to reach the shore, were dashed against the rocks. The Nymph mounted thirty-six guns, and the Pallas thirty-two. The latter was taken from the French by Lord Cochrane in Basque Roads, who mounted two of his favourite brass guns on her bow. It is somewhat singular

* For a most satisfactory account of the cause of this accident, and of the impossibility of the result being otherwise, see Cheap Magazine, vol. ii., a work published soon after, and edited by Mr G. Miller.

that a ship of this name (probably the same vessel) belonged to Paul Jones' squadron when he was off Dunbar. The Pallas was such a complete wreck, that she was sold in lots on the spot; but the Nymph, being in a better condition, was purchased by a shipbuilder from Sunderland, who built a ship and loaded a brig from her remains, and besides got more from government for the old copper, at a fair price, than he had paid for the whole lot! A small vessel, called the Lovely Ann of Aberdeen, came ashore shortly after, and lay stranded between these vessels, upon which it was roguishly observed, that the Goddess of Wisdom (Pallas) had led the two ladies astray.

Major Middlemass, who was always first in the field "to do the state some service," for his exertions on this trying occasion, was presented with a silver salver, valued at L.100, which bears the following inscription:—

"Presented by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Christopher Middlemass, Esq., Provost of Dunbar, in acknowledgment of his humane and zealous exertions to save the crew of his Majesty's late ship Pallas, when wrecked near Dunbar, on the night of the 18th December, 1810."

In 1816, another shipwreck occurred in Tyne Sands, under very melancholy circumstances. On the night of Saturday, the 9th November, the John and Agnes sloop of Newcastle, David Bell, master, was stranded, in a severe storm. The master of the vessel swam ashore in quest of assistance, leaving a brother and sister on board, who had been on a visit to him at Newcastle. The life-boat, as usual, was brought to the beach, under the command of Mr Laing; but, alas! the brother and sister of Mr Bell had, during his absence, been washed from the deck, and the mate, in attempting to reach the shore, also found a watery grave; while a poor fellow, who had lashed himself to the shrouds, remained frozen in the speechlessness of death. The solitary remnant of this little crew was saved by the life-boat, the last office of the kind she was doomed to perform; for by the time the Lady Anne Murray of Gate-house-of-fleet came on shore, in the month of October, 1821, she had got into such

a state of disrepair, that her services were no longer available; and it is exceedingly painful to think that, on that particular occasion, they might under other circumstances have been available, and the means of adding another life to the number of those she had already saved.*

1818, Oct. 15.—The Signet, a gun-frigate, was brought up, by a strong breeze of wind from the south-east, off Dowe-Law Point. When the news was brought to Sir James Hall of Dunglass, he went immediately to the Cove (a fishing village), and told Thomas Anderson, a native of the place, that should he bring the captain of the frigate ashore, he would give one pound to each man in the boat, besides his boat's crew a protection from the press-gang. Anderson, every "inch a sailor," gave immediate order to his boatmen to go aboard at all hazards. They were five in number (including his brothers, John and William, Alexander Swanson, and Robert Gordon), and away they sailed with their gallant little bark, like a thing of life, breasting the

* How the Dunbar life-boat, or, more properly, "the life-boat belonging to the county of East Lothian," with her carriage, &c., was allowed to lie by in such a state of disrepair, after having been so judiciously consigned by the original committee, upon the completion of their voluntary task, to the care and future disposal of those distinguished individuals who were, in the words of the printed address, issued to the subscribers on that occasion, "possessed of so much ability and influence, to make them productive, on every emergency, of the greatest possible good"—and how matters were suffered to get worse with her since, until the "ill-fated" boat, and her appurtenances, with the exception of "the apparatus for restoring suspended animation," originally purchased from the same funds, were brought to the hammer, and disposed of for what they could bring, on the 15th October, 1829—it is not our present business to inquire; but consistent with our general plan, we simply record the short-lived history of the boat, and now that it has passed away, we would only express a hope that the "apparatus for saving the lives of shipwrecked seamen," presented by government to Dunbar, in common with a number of other situations along the coast, may prove effectual in the hour of danger, and be better fostered than its hapless precursor, as it is an apparatus that seems peculiarly adapted for the rocky part of these shores; and which, it may be here remarked, they would have been put in possession of, or of something very similar, so long back as 1793, had the suggestions of Mr George Miller, who took an active part in procuring the life-boat, been at that time crowned with success.

ocean's spray, "dependant," says our worthy correspondent,* "upon the great Creator, who alone is able to preserve in the hour of danger," when the seas contend with skies. When the adventurous seamen reached the Pease Bay, our correspondent graphically says, "that the little boat stood as upright as the wood that grew upon land; but fearing not, knowing in whom they trusted, they at last came to the frigate, and got the captain on board, and landed him in safety on Lumsden beach." At this time there existed signal stations upon the coast, one near where the frigate lay, which telegraphed to the officials at Leith, stating the distress of the frigate, who sent their life-boat, well manned, with the *press-gang*, and six high-spirited horses to drag them to their destination; but as the Dunbar life-boat was on the way, they proceeded no farther. The Dunbar life-boat, with four horses, arrived at Cockburnspath about three o'clock afternoon; but accidentally she was staved in hoisting her over Lumsden shore's precipitous rocks. "It was curious," says a spectator, "to behold the fishermen from all quarters, ready to assist the crew, while at the same time they were in a tremor regarding the press-gang, who lay like tigers in ambuscade to snatch their prey." Such was the state of free-born Britons at this time, afraid of a system which beat the conscript law and *lettres de cachet*. The vessel lay in a ruinous state, without masts or guns, her anchorage out, to prevent her from drifting ashore, when some vessels coming up, dragged the Signet to Leith, and happily there was not a man lost. In regard to our heroes who saved the wreck, John Anderson, who had served in the royal navy, was with Admiral Parker at the Dogger Bank, where he lay for two hours and a half with a splinter in his thigh. His brother William had served his country in the French war, and returned home also wounded, and afterwards sailed in the ship which brought Queen Caroline to England.

1819, May 15.—We have a melancholy incident to relate.

* Mr David Blackhall, teacher, Bilsdean.

Lieutenant Stewart came on a visit to his uncle, Alexander Angus, innkeeper, Cockburnspath, and a few days previous to joining his ship, he invited the two Misses Brooke, from Musselburgh, to pay him a visit before he went aboard. The ladies (who were aunt and niece) came. With the Misses Brooke, he came to the Cove, the ladies leaning on his arm, where he hired a boat. It was a beautiful day, not the least breeze of wind blowing; the waves waving in such an undulating motion, as to invite a pleasure sail on the calm waters; but, ah! it was a treacherous calm, and their joy was turned to sadness. Lieutenant Stewart imprudently put to sea with only a young fisherman, James Paterson, and the two ladies. When off the Pease Burn, the lieutenant called to the man to take the boat where the breakers were; but he had cause to rue this "practical joke" request. The lieutenant stood upright in the boat, put one foot on the starboard side and the other on the larboard. The two ladies, alarmed, rose from their seats, and took hold of the lieutenant, when the boat turned keel up, and the four were immersed in the yawning waves. Paterson regained a position on the keel, and cried to the lieutenant—"Can you not save yourself?" He answered, "Not to-day, James; do you think you will make the shore?" The ladies still held by the lieutenant, who, at last exhausted, sunk, and the three were drowned. The aunt's body was got next day, Sabbath morning, and was conveyed in a hearse to Musselburgh, where she was interred, and a tombstone erected to her memory. The other bodies were not found. Thus perished, by the foolish recklessness of a seaman, a party who were much esteemed for their private virtues. Paterson was rescued by a boat from the Cove. The fate of these unfortunate ladies will recall to the reader that of Mr Wilson, his son, and two daughters, who were drowned below Kirkhill Cottage, Dunbar, which we will notice afterwards.

1830, August 30.—The Carolina of Hull was wrecked about sixty yards from the Doecove. Laden with grain, she yielded

to the violence of the waves. By the activity of the mate and persons on the beach, the crew were saved. Happily, P. H. Hume, Esq., Lawfield, and Mr Neil, one of the preventive boatmen, from Redheugh, were on the spot at the time the schooner stranded. These gentlemen exerted themselves in a praiseworthy manner. They contrived to get the rope thrown on board, by which, with their united exertions, the crew were saved. What made the scene more distressing, the captain was in a state of mental derangement. "Let no person despair of God's providence," says our correspondent; "for when the schooner came in sight, nothing but despair hovered over them. The sea was in a fermented state, like a steam-boiler ready to explode; the waves rose to a fearful height. The poor mariners stood aghast—they reeled to and fro; when the rainbow of mercy gleamed upon them, and the guardian angel sent a tear to heaven, which saved them from a watery grave." But to crown the scene of this day's eventful escape, which Mr Blackhall describes as the "most beautiful he ever saw," in consequence of the vessel being laden with barley, the hangers-on gathered the grain after the insurance companies were satisfied. (?) "I think there were from three to four hundred persons on Bilsdean sands, men, women, and children, with baskets, when about seven A.M., the roughness of the sea having subsided into a calm," the marauders retired with their booty. Sir John Hall, with the benevolent spirit which characterises the family of Dunglass, stood on the beach, and gave orders to give every species of refreshment for the comfort of the survivors. The captain was taken to George Brown, the steward's house, who assisted in conveying Captain Russell to Mr M'Ewen's residence, from whence immediate intelligence of the disaster and insanity of the captain was posted to his family. His daughter arrived, glad to find her father in existence. The captain had a considerable sum of money in his possession when he left Hull, of which he was robbed by the crew. The mate de-

clared that the captain threw his purse, filled with sovereigns, into the sea; but the cabin-boy said otherwise.

1831, February 4.—We have now to recount one of the most melancholy disasters which ever happened on these shores, as regarded the loss of those whose business lay not on the great deep. The smack Czar of Leith, George Smith, master, during a severe storm of snow, was wrecked on Scoughall shore, about four miles east from North Berwick, when five of the crew, with the master and ten passengers, perished, among the latter of whom were Dr Scott of the Rifle corps and his lady, and several domestics of Major-General Sir John Dalrymple, Bart., of North Berwick, who had gone to London to witness the departure of the baronet to India.

With storm-sails set, before the gale, the Czar
Weather'd the echoing caverns of Dunbar;
Bravely pass'd o'er the shifting sands of Tyne,
Where hulls and masts, tall as Norwegian pine,
Lie many fathoms down. There, treasures hid
Where green-eyed mermaids make their sea-weed bed;
And in the bosom of that vasty deep,
What piles of wealth—what countless myriads sleep!
* * * Ah! too late they see
The rocky scarr that lengthens on their lee;
The creaking deck the rushing breakers sweep,
With the whole bosom of the mighty deep:
Then thickening snow, and icy sleets descend.
Blinded, beneath their weight the sailors bend,
From powerless grasp the helmsman feels her reel,
The tortured vessel tears its massy keel,
Writhes—roars—and thunders in its agony,
Like some struck eagle tumbled from the sky,
Quivers beneath the ocean's earthquake shocks,
And, wedging, lies on Scoughall's dismal rocks!

The oaken timbers crack, while Smith, alert,
Descends to cheer the drooping traveller's heart.
Crowded within that solitary berth,
Where late was gamesome joy and noisy mirth,
Knee-deep in brine, and drenched by the mad sea,
The sufferers wait the fate they cannot flee;
For now, uptorn, the cabin-floorings rend,
Beneath the weight of waves the bulk-heads bend;
Casks, bales of ponderous size, come rolling in,
And smother piteous cries with harsher din,

Wedging the drowning victims where they stood,
Who fell, in heaps confused, amidst the flood ;
While, crushed, expiring, the loud rushing noise
Of mighty torrents hushed each dying voice.

When this fair ship for Scotia gladly bore,
Her passengers and crew were twenty-four ;
But of these buoyant hearts, so sprightly hale,
Nine hardy seamen but survived the gale.
These lonely sailors, through the dreary night,
Clung to the wreck, to worship morning's light,
Which brought reflux of tide, when dawing day
Shew'd the lone sufferers where they drowning lay ;
For still betwixt them and the sands, a pool
Run, dark and deep, which might the bravest cool ;
Then first to venture there, a gallant boy,
Snatched up an oar, and swimming, mad with joy,
Soon stood upon the rocks, and waved his hand,
Crying, " Cheer up, my comrades, I have gain'd the strand ! "
Then came some stalwart boatmen to the beach,*
Who wading deep, the fated vessel reach ;
From whence they, breast-deep, on their shoulders bore
The half-drown'd seamen to the welcome shore.

There was a gallant sailor, known to war,
Engaged in England's naval fights afar—†
Had seen great shipwrecks by Aboukir's swell,
Where victory rose when Abercrombie fell ;
And where the Egyptian seaman, pale with fright,
Smites his dark beard, which turns to deadly white !
But here the loss of life was shed so free,
Of those whose home lay not on the wide sea,
It quell'd his vet'ran heart to see them lie,
The hapless victims of the stormy sky.

Here wedlock's tie was burst—unconsciously
The husband and the wife dissevered lay :

* Two brothers, James and John Kelly, fishermen, belonging to Canty-bay, rendered material and praiseworthy assistance in bringing on shore the crew that were saved from the Czar ; particularly the first, who swam several times to the vessel at the risk of his life.

† Mr Leamon, formerly commander of the coast-guard, North Berwick. In 1842, this gallant seaman, when on board his Majesty's ship Blake, at Port Mahon, island of Minorca, jumped overboard, with the intention of saving the life of Lord Henry Adam Lennox, midshipman, who fell from a height of forty feet in the rigging, while the ship was entering the harbour. The young nobleman, however, having received a blow on the face, was found dead when he and Mr L. were picked out of the water ; and what rendered the case more distressing was, that his lordship was partially under Mr Leamon's care.

Alas, poor woman! with a mother's eye
She pictured home, where Forth's green windings lie;
She saw her blue-eyed Lilias, smiling, there,
And knew each knot that bound her silken hair;
Such painful anguish did her soul devour,
She felt the pangs of death before the hour!

There lay the maid betrothed, that spirit flown,
Which in domestic circles might have shone;
Love, from the once dear form, turns sad away,
Whose looks of love have faded into clay.

There lay the old man, weltering in the flood,
Who had grown grey in honour'd servitude;
He just had earned a goodly competence,
To comfort age with labours' recompense.
He would not tempt the expanse of Indian seas,
But, reckless, rushed where death was on the breeze.*

There lay the gallant soldier, gashed and scarred,
Who wrestled in the field where legions warred:
He never turn'd aside to shun the ball,
Though slaughter held the lordship over all;
But dash'd the banner in death's wormy face—
Now crush'd beneath the tempest's iron mace.

SHIPWRECK OF "THE CZAR," BY THE AUTHOR.

1834, January 23.—The sloop Yeoman of Dunbar made a narrow escape. She came from Alloa to the Cove, laden with coals. After delivering the cargo, James Robertson, skipper, a native of Redheugh, the crew having absented themselves, got three boys, natives of the Cove, to accompany him in steering the vessel to its port, and they went to sea in high spirits, in hopes that they would reach their destination in safety. In place of getting to Dunbar, they bore out to sea with a strong breeze of wind blowing from the shore. The vessel got water-logged, and after being at sea eight days, the crew were picked up by a ship belonging to South Shields.

1835, Jan. 19.—The schooner William Davidson of Thurso,

* Amongst the sufferers was James Davidson, an old servant of Major-General Sir John Dalrymple, who had accompanied the female part of the family to London, on their way to India. He was urgently invited to continue with them, while they remained in the metropolis; but they could not prevail on him to stay—his hour was come!

from Newcastle, laden with coals, encountered a gale off St Abb's Head. Drawing near night, the wind became a hurricane. The hail falling fast, the tide rolling in, the vessel became unmanageable about six o'clock afternoon. The sea carried her over the large rocks that lie within water mark, and stranded her on Bilsdean beach, about 100 yards from the Doecove, a total wreck. The crew, five in number, were happily saved. Sir John Hall, in the same year, had finished a fine foot-path upon the west of Bilsdean Bridge, at the seashore. The night being "as dark as chaos," the mariners could not perceive their position; but one of the crew ventured up the mast, and, to his surprise, landed on *terra firma*, by placing his foot on the splendid foot-path, when he cried to his shipmates, "All's well!" upon which they found the road, which carried them to Bilsdean, where they were regaled by order of Sir John Hall. The cargo of the schooner was sold to Mr Thomas Hood, Cove, by the insurance company, which he sold out in bolls or tons, to accommodate the public. John Anderson, Cockburnspath, and John Liddle bought the hull, who, taking it down, sold it in lots, and cleared a handsome sum.

There was another ship, near the Head, which had swamped in the deep water. Two bodies were found near Redheugh, and some pieces of wreck near the same place. From the violence of the waves, Thomas Blair's house was laid down at Skateraw Kiln, belonging to Thorntonloch.

1841, Sept. 4.—At Marshall Meadows, a boat belonging to Eyemouth, called the Phœbus, was upset. The father, two sons, and landsman, all drowned.

1843, Jan. 3.—At Skateraw, the schooner Cleveland of Newcastle, from Antwerp to Arbroath, laden with bark, stranded, but got off, by means of barrels, to Dunbar. Same tide, the sloop Isabella Black, total wreck—part of the cargo saved.

1843, Oct. 12.—The schooner Maria Emelia of Aberdeen, bound to Newcastle, laden with coal, encountered a strong gale of wind from N.E., about two o'clock morning, off St Abb's

Head. The sleet and wind blowing very hard, amidst the blackness of darkness, the crew knew not where they were. Captain Whyte, who had seen much foreign service, declared that he had never suffered so much as he experienced that morning. He had no sea-room, and the coals shifted with the rolling of the vessel. He commanded his men to trim the coals; but in half an hour they were back to their former position, the schooner lying on her larboard side. Their situation was so perilous, that the captain addressed his crew in the style of Columbus—that "should it be the will of God that one of them might be saved, to tell the news of their unavoidable disaster, he should rest contented."

> Generous and brave! when God himself is here,
> Why shake at shadows in your mid career?
> He can suspend the laws himself designed;
> He walks the waters, and the winged wind,
> Himself your guide!—ROGERS' VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

The captain's prayer was heard. The schooner stranded on a sandy beach below Linkhead. He went to the jiboom, when to his surprise, his feet touched in safety the pebbly shore. The wreck was taken down, and sold in lots to the public.

1852, Jan. 9.—The schooner Susan, laden with grain, from Fraserburgh to Newcastle, encountered a gale of wind, about four o'clock morning, east of the Bass Rock, which laid her on her beam-ends. To lighten her, they cut away the mainmast and dropped anchor, which was found of no use, as she drifted along the coast, dragging her anchor and chains. The red flag flying half-mast high attracted the notice of the coast-guard boatmen, who came with the life-gun apparatus, accompanied by Dr Turnbull, from Dunbar; but the schooner was at too great a distance from the shore for her receiving any assistance. Like the Ancient Mariner—

> The storm-blast came, and he
> Was tyrannous and strong;
> He struck with his o'ertaking wings,
> And chased us south along.

With sloping masts, and dipping prow,
As one pursued by yell and blow
Still treads the shadow of his foe,
And forward bends his head ;

The ship drove fast, loud roar'd the blast,
And *eastward* aye we fled.

COLERIDGE.

At length, moved by the violence of the waves, she appeared off Bilsdean about two afternoon, where she lay, apparently as snug as if she had been at anchor. Sir John Hall of Dunglass sent his groom to Dunbar, and telegraphed to Berwick to send a steam-boat to rescue the crew ; but the answer returned was, that no steam-boat could venture out of the harbour, from the boisterous state of the weather ; when, wonderful to relate, the schooner bore away, and by the will of Providence, despite of the waves, she came alongside of a rock, in deep water, to the north of St Helen's, as directly as if she had been dragged by a steam tug. The crew got ashore from the rock ; one of them, in his anxiety, fell into the sea, but was rescued. The seamen were hospitably entertained by William Hardy, Esq., Old Cambus, and Dr Turnbull attended those who required surgical assistance. The crew had made a most miraculous escape, for the moment they left the vessel, she went down in the deep water, and turning keel up, went to pieces.

1854, Feb. 13.—The Brilliant, laden with grain, ashore at Thorntonloch, a total wreck.

1855, April 1.—The Early, from Newcastle to Leith, laden with pease and beans, became a total wreck off Thorntonloch. Men, four in number, drowned. The bodies were found, and interred in Innerwick churchyard.

1857, Jan. 3.—In a hurricane of wind, more severe than many remembered, the sea-coast, from the Thames to Aberdeen, was strewed with the wrecks of forty vessels. Amongst these was one at Catcraig, keel up, all hands drowned ; another at Scoughall rocks—all the crew drowned—a solitary dog found moaning on the beach.

### THE "VALENTINE" OF ROSTOCK.

On a Sunday morning in September, 1856, about seven o'clock, a large brig struck upon the rocks, close to the mouth of Broxburn water, below Broxmouth Park, the seat of his Grace the Duke of Roxburghe, and almost instantly became a total wreck. The sea raged so fearfully, that it was impossible for a boat to venture out. Fortunately, the men of the Coast-Guard were alert on their duty, and having watched the disastrous state of the vessel, brought Captain Manby's apparatus to the spot, and within from 200 to 300 yards from the land, it was instantly put into requisition. The first of the rope from the mortar, being a wrong coil, broke. The next shot was more successful, the ball alighting upon deck. The rope being secured to the mast, the crew, numbering ten men and a boy, were safely brought to land in the basket. Nor was the last man landed too soon, as a few minutes only elapsed from the time he reached the shore, when the ship heeled over, and commenced breaking up; and so rapid was the work of destruction, that in the afternoon the only part of the vessel to be seen was part of her bows, while along the shore were strewn beams, spars, &c., broken into splinters. The vessel was bound from Newcastle to Copenhagen, laden with coals, 250 tons register, ten years old, the property of her commander, T. H. Moller, and uninsured.

In rendering assistance to the crew, the conduct of the Duke of Roxburghe, who was happily at Broxmouth Park, was above all praise—so much so as to call forth a letter of gratitude from Captain Moller, which appeared in the "Scotsman," dated, Leith, October 1st:—"While acknowledging the deep obligation we are under to all who lent assistance, I have, on the part of myself and crew, to express our special gratitude to his Grace, both from the assistance rendered by him in rescuing us from the wreck, and from the great kindness we afterwards experienced at his hands. From the moment the vessel struck,

his Grace was actively engaged in rendering assistance. He took part in the working of Captain Manby's apparatus; and, regardless of the danger, exposed himself in the water assisting us to reach the shore. After all were safely landed, we were taken to his Grace's mansion, where we were supplied with dry clothes and food, and treated with the greatest kindness and consideration. To his Grace's son (Lord Charles John) and domestics we owe a like debt of gratitude. Will you therefore permit me, through the medium of your columns, to make this public but imperfect acknowledgment of myself and crew for the services rendered, and the kindness shewn to us upon the above occasion.—I am, &c., T. H. Moller, master and owner."

I could not help writing some verses on the occasion, from which the following is an extract:—

Maidens of Rostock, ye shall wake to weep,
And blanch your cheeks, and rend your auburn hair,
Thy "Valentine" lies stranded on the beach,
Laden with coals from dark Northumbria's mines,
In Dunbar's rocky arms, 'neath the deer-park,
Where noble Roxburghe spreads his rich domains.
Yes! there she lies; and like a lion chain'd,
Tosses in agony, biting her strong fetters,
Struggling in vain to set her spirit free.

It was a dreadful night, and when pale morn
At length arose, 'twas like a pitiless wretch
That lights the fated culprit to his doom.
But mercy is the sovereign boon of heaven,
And Hope, the charmer, cheers the darkest hour;
Humanity came, like an angel mild,
From Broxmouth's shades. Led by the noble Duke,
Whose bright example nerved the seamen's arm
To deeds of daring, the brave Coast Guard
Brought Manby's apparatus to the beach,
And saved the drowning crew, amidst loud cheers.

Maidens of Rostock! ye may cease to weep,
Nor tinge the rose-hue of your smiling cheeks;
But busk with garlands gay your silken hair,
And deck with laurels Blucher's honour'd tomb;
And dress yourself in holiday attire,
Hailing your fathers'—lovers'—glad return!

And when in vespers ye appeal to heaven,
Kneeling before St Mary's sacred shrine,
Remember Roxburghe and his noble family,
Who rescued from the ocean's yawning wave
Your friends and kinsmen from a watery grave!

### THE DISASTERS OF A NIGHT.

1847, December 6.—The weather, which had been uncommonly mild for the season, changed on Sunday, when the neighbourhood of Dunbar was visited by a storm of snow and hail from the southward, and towards the evening of Monday the wind became high, amounting to a perfect hurricane from the south-east, accompanied with rain and sleet. The sea set in with tremendous fury, and, melancholy to relate, with great loss of life and property on the coast—

It was a fearful night,
And on my soul hung the dull weight
Of some intolerable fate.—COWLEY.

and on the morning of Tuesday the shore betwixt Berwick and Dunbar was literally strewed with wrecks.

The following are among the casualties which occurred on the coast:—

Between Redheugh and the Siccar Point, the Northumberland, barque, of Alloa, for Berwick, laden with timber from America, grounded on the rocks. The men took to the shrouds, and remained there during the night. It being impossible to approach the crew with boats, Mr Hood, farmer, Pathhead, about three miles off, getting information of the imminent danger of the crew, rode to Dunbar, and gave the alarm to the officer of the Preventive Service stationed there (Lieutenant Johnston, R.N.), who immediately mustered his men, and, having got Captain Manby's saving apparatus conveyed by a special train to Cockburnspath, hurried to the scene of the shipwreck. Out of the crew, which consisted of sixteen, twelve were saved by the gallant and indefatigable exertions of the lieutenant and his men at the Redheugh Station, supported by the country people and

the railway labourers, who left their employment for the laudable purpose of rendering assistance to the sufferers. One seaman was so exhausted, that he fell out of the basket and was drowned ; a boy was killed by the falling of the mast, and the chief mate and carpenter were among the sufferers. The body of the latter was afterwards found floating near the Siccar Point. The conduct of Sir John Hall, Bart., and of his son, James Hall, Esq., jun., of Dunglass, was above all praise. From the first knowledge of the unfortunate disaster, they repaired to the spot, and by their presence stimulated all to exertion. Mr Hall often exposed himself to the greatest danger in the water, and received the plaudits of all present for his spirited conduct.

The sloop Agenoria of Berwick, Richardson, master, from Newcastle to Port-Dundas with coals, went to pieces on the rocks in the Cove Bay, below Cockburnspath. The crew, consisting of three persons (including the master), perished, two of whom were natives of Dunbar. The body of Mr Richardson was afterwards found on the shore, and buried in Dunbar churchyard.*

About the same place, the sloop Johns of Limekilns, which left Eyemouth on Monday, was totally wrecked, and the whole of the crew perished.

At the Catcraig, between Dunbar and Skateraw, the Belgian sloop Le Rodeur of Bruges, with a cargo of apples for Glasgow, was cast on shore, high on the beach, and the crew saved. Two of them were washed of the deck, but regained it by the next wave, and got on shore much exhausted. This vessel sustained very little damage. Her cargo was sold by auction on the spot, the apples bringing only from 10d. to 1s. per bushel at first, being little above the duty of 7½d. per bushel, and latterly 1s. 6d.

The sloop Blackets of Berwick, Air, master, which sailed from Grangemouth on Monday, laden with barley, was wrecked

* There was something afflicting in the fate of Richardson, who was betrothed in marriage, on his return to Dunbar.

a little farther east. The master and mate perished, and the third, a boy, had a wonderful deliverance. He had been advised to go to bed during the night, and when the vessel was found next morning, bottom up, the poor boy was literally dug out of his prison, much exhausted.

At Cockenzie, the storm about midnight raged with terrific force. Between twelve and one in the morning, the schooner Napier of Sunderland, coal-laden, from Wemyss to Perth, and the brig Halifax of Newhaven, Sussex, in ballast, were driven on shore about a quarter of a mile from Port-Seaton. It being about high water, the vessels floated over a dangerous reef of rocks, and the crews were thus providentially saved.

The Victoria Pier and Harbour at Dunbar completely resisted the violence of the storm, and rendered every safety to the boats, &c., of our hardy fishermen, which was far from being the case in other places on the coast.

The industrious fishermen of Port-Seaton, Cockenzie, and Prestonpans (like their brethren of Newhaven), suffered much from the tempest. Their "big boats," too, had been hauled up to places hitherto considered safe; but the high tide and raging waves reached them, and dashed many of them to pieces, while a large number of their smaller boats, from being near high water mark, were destroyed. In short, such a storm, accompanied with so high a tide and heavy swell, had not been witnessed for many years.

Along the line of the North British Railway, a number of the posts of the electric telegraph were blown down, which caused a temporary interruption to the Telegraphic Company in transmitting the usual intelligence from London.

### FLOOD.

1846, Sept. 26.—The present generation had not beheld such an overwhelming flood as that which swept by Haddington on Michaelmas day, 1846. There was a close and heavy rain on Monday, which increased during the night, and on Tuesday by

mid-day the river had swollen to an immense extent. At Clerkington, the seat of Major-General Sir Robert Houston, the stream rushed in its desolating progress, and the stone-wall, which separates the pleasure-ground from the adjoining farm, was laid down in masses, or scattered in fragments over the fields; trees were ploughed up by the trunks, and rack of every description came floating down the river in its majestic course, while the east lodge was immersed some feet in the overpowering wave. The West and East Mills, and the Distillery Park, were inundated. A great portion of a massive wall on the south-east side of the distillery buildings was thrown down, and the inmates of the cottages were glad to find shelter and relief in Mr George Dunlop's hospitable mansion. The walks on the banks of the Tyne, which rise several feet above the bed of the river, were furrowed up and gutted, and the haugh, "where maidens bleach their linens clean," and where the horse and cattle shows are now held, seemed immersed in the waters of a troubled sea. The old Franciscan church of Haddington, which stands on an elevated situation, was nearly surrounded by the flood; but the holy fabric was more fortunate than on the festival of St Ninian, in 1421, when, according to Spottiswood, "the people went to the church in a great boat, and the sacristy, with the church's fine library and ornaments for divine service, were destroyed." In consequence of the improved nature of heightening and draining of the streets, which are raised some feet above their former level, the flood made little encroachments on the town, except by the bursting of the coverings of some of the minor rivulets. Accordingly, some feet of water was lodged in "John Gray's house," at the old custom stone, a tenement celebrated for bearing a memorial, on an engraved plate, shewing to what height the water rose on the 4th day of October, 1775, when, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the river was no less than seventeen feet perpendicular above the bed of the Tyne. This circumstance, however, which in some degree saved the town, threw the waters in more abundance on the suburb of the Nun-

gate, which stands on the north bank of the river, above which it is elevated some feet by an earthen terrace, and is also protected by a wall a few feet in height. The flood here rose to such a height as to inundate the dwellings to the extent of three and four feet. The inhabitants were forced to abandon their dwellings; beds, chattels, and wearing apparel, floated in every direction; the goods of some grocers' shops were entirely destroyed—herring barrels swept off the counter—and the gudewife saw her kail-pat, with its sheep-head treasures, landed on the floor, while the swinefeeder, immersed to the waist, with great difficulty dragged his tusked favourites from the mire. At Gimmersmills (the property of George More, Esq.), which are situated a short distance below the Nungate, the waters spread over the under flat to the height of a foot, exciting much consternation for the safety of the inmates. A field behind the mill, at an elevation of six or eight feet above the bed of the stream, was completely submerged, the walls overthrown, and from the quantity of gravel deposited, and the deep ruts occasioned by the current, sustained an injury which would not be easily repaired. The high lands on the left bank of the Tyne at this spot made the flood particularly destructive to the low lands on the right. Trees of considerable growth were strewed on the ground, and but for the prudent foresight of making apertures in the walls which enclose the Amisfield policy, and thus allowing the accumulating waters to escape, much additional damage might have been done to the adjoining produce and property.

Amisfield Park (the seat of Lord Elcho), where lately the covey flew on whirring wings, lay like a shining lake, where trouts might disport; and the Abbey Mill, where in olden times the abbess, with the crucifix in her hand, bade the waters recede, was immersed three or four feet in the flood.

As the day advanced, still the river rose, and the railway company were doomed to come in for a share of the destructive power of the stream. At the village of East Linton, the Tyne

is between sixty and eighty feet broad, and its course being over a rocky bed, it descends at this point with considerable rapidity. A spacious bridge, or viaduct, for the railway, 200 feet in length, and eighty feet in height, composed of four arches, two of which are placed on the opposite banks, and the other two in the centre of the river, supported by a strong pier, which was recently erected, was compelled to fall before the stormy flood. In the afternoon, a few minutes after the train had passed, the two centre arches fell with a tremendous crash; but from the noisy roar of the currents, the fall was scarcely perceptible to the inhabitants. The mill, a little beneath, had its sluices carried away, and the dam chocked up with gravel and sand. Beneath this spot the boiling surge, falling about twenty feet into a rocky linn, had a stunning effect, and formed a magnificent waterfall. And it is worthy of remark, that neither the old bridge, which is situated a few yards below the viaduct, or those at the Nungate and Abbey, near Haddington, were in the least degree injured, as if those aged veterans stood to laugh at the futile masonry of modern days. We may do the builder of the bridge the justice to state, that it had been hastily reared, and such a deluge of waters could not possibly have been foreseen.

Two bridges at Beltonford, on the railway line, were also destroyed by the flooding of Beil water, in consequence of which the traffic on the railway was completely interrupted, and the now exploded chaises, omnibuses, and vehicles of every description were put in requisition. These disasters, however, were not confined to East Lothian. The entrance of the tunnel at Cockburnspath was partially submerged by the overflow of a stream in the neighbourhood; and at Penmanshiel, in Berwickshire, where the railway is carried over a deep glen, by an embankment upwards of 100 feet in height, the arch was so choked by accumulated waters, rising to the height of ninety feet, that an enormous gap was made in the embankment, while other bridges on the same line towards Berwick shared an equal

fate. These unexpected accidents were remedied by temporary wooden erections; and the bridge of East Linton, with its strong timber repairs, is considered more efficient than it was formerly.

In addition to the damage on the railway line, a bridge over the Hopes water, above Gifford, was destroyed; and in the policies of the Yester and Whittinghame estates some elegant fanciful bridges were swept away, and much property damaged in other parts of the county.

## DISASTROUS CALAMITY.

On Saturday, 12th September, 1857, the town of Dunbar was thrown into a state of great excitement, by the loss of four lives by drowning—father, son, and two daughters. The facts are as follow:—

William Wilson, Esq., from London, had taken a marine residence at Kirkhill Cottage, near the sea shore. Having spent the summer there with his family, he had made arrangements to leave for London on the following Monday. Notwithstanding that the weather on the morning of the above date was very uninviting, and the sea receding, the two daughters of Mr Wilson, Margaret Ellen and Alice, aged respectively eighteen and fifteen, resolved upon having their last bathe for the season. Accordingly, about half-past ten, they went down to the sea, which is only about forty yards from the house, accompanied by their maid servant and a young brother, about nine years of age. The two sisters, being excellent swimmers, went out into deep water. They had been in but a short time, when they were observed by the maid to be in danger, and clinging to each other, being carried back very rapidly by the receding tide, and calling loudly to her for the help of their father. She immediately ran to the house and alarmed her master, who, with his son James, aged nineteen, was dressing himself at the time. They immediately repaired to the scene of danger, and saw the young ladies still clinging together. Making a sign with his hand to them to bear up, Mr Wilson plunged into the sea,

without undressing. James almost immediately followed him, only taking time to partly strip, and in a few minutes all the four were seen by Mrs Wilson and the maid to be clinging together in confusion. No other person was present at the time, but their cries were heard by our informant, Sergeant John Bain, of the County Police, who lost no time in hastening to the spot. Mrs Wilson was there alone, screaming in despair. Only one body was now to be seen, and partly stripping himself, Bain succeeded in getting hold of it, and bringing it ashore, when it proved to be that of Margaret Ellen. A number of persons had by this time collected on the beach, and a labourer, named Francis Taylor, recovered the body of James in a few minutes after. When Margaret was first taken hold of by Bain, her bathing-gown was over her head, which gave her little chance of swimming, yet at that time there were faint signs of life, as she was heard to give a heavy sigh. Dr John Turnbull was ready to receive her on being taken to the land, and used every means to restore animation, but without success. Dr James Dunlop was in attendance on James, and using every exertion, it was thought for some time that he might revive; but their hopes were doomed to be disappointed.

Every search was made for the two remaining bodies, during which the state of Mrs Wilson may be easier imagined than expressed, as she witnessed the whole scene. The men of the Coast-Guard having procured a boat, made every endeavour to find them, but in vain. The same evening, the body of Alice was found washed ashore at the back of the Soap Works, near the old harbour. The body of Mr Wilson was not found until a week after. It was thrown out near the Catcraig, which is about three miles and a half from where he was lost. They were taken to Edinburgh, and interred in the Grange Cemetery, the family burial-ground.

Mr Wilson was an extensive hat manufacturer in London, but had retired from business. He was a brother of John Wilson's, Esq., M.P., of the Treasury.

A more melancholy event had not happened on these shores since the fate of Lieutenant Sydenham Wylde, R.N., of the Coast-Guard, Dunbar, and his crew, on the 20th August, 1845. During the herring drave, a violent storm came suddenly on, with a heavy sea, when the Red Rover fishing-boat, of Buckhaven, with a crew of five men, William Thomson, master, in making the old harbour about mid-day, was driven among the rocks, and totally wrecked. Three of the crew were instantly drowned. The master got on to a rock, and was saved. His brother reached a small rock near the iron pole, which is surrounded by deep water, and covered at full tide, against which the sea was fearfully breaking. A number of people were congregated on the rocks, within twenty yards of him, who made many fruitless attempts for his rescue. As a last attempt, Lieutenant Wylde, Mr Lucas, chief boatman, with four seafaring men belonging to the town—David and Peter Darg, William Miller, and William Clements—volunteered their services; and, in a fishing-boat, boldly ventured out, having a rope communicating with the shore. They had nearly reached the rock, when the poor man was washed off; but he struggled to keep up for a short time, and neared the boat. At this time the shore-rope was loosened from the boat, to give her more way. The crew had almost succeeded in catching his hand, when a sea struck the boat, and deprived them of their oars, drifting the little craft among the rocks behind the pier, when, melancholy to relate, it was dashed to pieces, and the whole crew were drowned. It is distressing to think of the extent of the affliction which this tearful event occasioned. Lieutenant Wylde, Mr Lucas, P. Darg, and W. Clements, left families. The state of excitement shed a gloom over Dunbar, so many witnessing a scene where they could render no assistance. It was not known what caused the Red Rover to attempt Dunbar, with such a fearful swell in-shore, not having been employed in the fishing there for some days. It is thought that she was well fished, and from the circumstance of few Dunbar boats being out, ex-

pected a more ready and better market for her cargo than on the Fife coast.

The funeral procession, which proceeded from the house of Lucas (the coffin covered with a flag), was a melancholy sight, borne by the men of the Coast-Guard, from the stations of North Berwick, Dunbar, and Redheugh, attended by Captain Arrow, R.N., commander, and the officers and men of the Greyhound revenue cutter ; Captain Motte and officers of the French cutter, then on the station, looking after their boats while making purchases ; Captain Hay of Belton, R.N. (latterly Rear-Admiral) ; the magistrates, clergy, and respectable inhabitants ; while the town-bell tolled a requiem, and the shops were shut.

Of the sufferers, David Darg was a young man of great courage and humanity. In the previous year, he was mainly instrumental in saving the lives of a boat's crew, near Dunbar. When Darg heard of the disaster, he hastened to the beach, and volunteered his services. A young woman, to whom he was betrothed, caught hold of him, and implored him not to go, as it would be throwing away his life. "I am not afraid of my life," he replied ; "I must go ! I cannot see my fellow-creatures perish, if I can help them !" With these words he sprang into the boat, and fell a sacrifice to his praiseworthy humanity, leaving a widowed mother, who was solely dependant on him, to deplore his untimely end.

Lieutenant Wylde's body was not found till Friday week afterwards, in a horrid state of decomposition. Captain Hay of Belton acted as chief mourner at his funeral. The union-jack covered the coffin, crowned with the cap, sword, and belt of the deceased. A tablet, as we have already noticed, was erected in Dunbar churchyard, to the memory of Lieutenant Wylde and his brave companions :—

They had heard the din of battle,
They had felt the shock of war,
Little dreaming they should perish
In thy rocky arms, Dunbar.

A public meeting was held at Dunbar, for the relief of the wives and families of the sufferers, of which Bailie P. H. Hume was chairman, and Mr James Ritchie, of the Commercial Bank, appointed treasurer. The sum of no less than L.400 was subscribed. At the head of the list was Provost Middlemass and the Right Hon. Sir George Warrender, Bart. Besides this handsome donation, a pension of L.15 yearly to the widows and families was granted by government.

## SMUGGLING.

The deil cam fiddling through the town,
And danced awa wi' the exciseman,
And ilka wife cries, "Auld Mahoun,
I wish you luck o' the prize, man!"—BURNS.

About seventy years ago, smuggling was carried on to a considerable extent on the sea-coast of the county, and many a keg of "Hollands gin" and French brandy were deposited in the rocky recesses of the Cove shore and caverns of the Bass Rock. In fact, no crime was more lightly esteemed than cheating the *gauger*, which, as a matter of course, led to deeds of a darker die.

In August, 1744, the magistracy of the county having observed with great satisfaction the spirit that prevailed through out the kingdom to suppress the pernicious practice of smuggling, as fatal to the true interests of the country, and to encourage the consumpt of their own home-made malt liquors and spirits in place of French brandy, came to a resolution to discourage all manner of smuggling whatsoever. Acting up to this spirit, the heritors of the shire of Haddington had met on the 1st May, and subscribed resolutions to the following effect, in which not only liquors, but the spinster's favourite beverage, "that cheers but not inebriates," was interdicted:—

"That an expensive and luxurious way of living had shamefully crept in," observed they, "upon all ranks of people, who, neglecting the good and wholesome produce of their own

country, had got into the habit of an immoderate use of French wines and spirits in public-houses and private families, which liquors were in a great degree clandestinely imported, and smuggled through the country, in defraudence of the revenue; as also that the *drinking of tea*, and especially among the people of *lower rank*, had arrived to such an extravagant excess, that during the war with France they should not drink French wine in any public-house, &c., or use any way in their private houses, brandy or French spirits; and that they should moderate or discourage the drinking of tea in their families." *

When beef and ale on the board were spread,
Our men were stout, and the women bred;
And glorious old Bess would have laughed with me,
At the sight of an Englishman *sipping tea*.

### SEA PLUNDERERS.

In my notes to the "Shipwreck of the Czar," I had occasion to notice that a barbarous practice, which once prevailed on our shores, had passed away like the spirit of a dream. This system is alluded to by Falconer, in his beautiful poem of "The Shipwreck," as existing on the Cambrian coast:—

I know, among you, some full oft have viewed,
With murdering weapons armed, a lawless brood,
On England's vile inhuman shore who stand,
The foul reproach and scandal of our land!
To rob the wanderer wrecked upon the strand.

Yet did the same exist in East Lothian at the end of the last century:—

Then came Dalrymple, generous and good,
To tame the daring outlaw's lawless mood.

This couplet alludes to Sir Hew Dalrymple, the father of the late Major-General Sir John Dalrymple, of North Berwick, Bart.

"It was in the early part of the year 1790, that Mr Dalrymple was roused at midnight by a tremendous storm, and cries from the crew of a vessel wrecked near his house. In-

* Tea was then retailed at 10s. per lb. It is now less than 4s.

stantly rushing forth from safety, warmth, and comfort, he found the unfortunate seamen struggling with the fury of the tempest, and the danger of their situation much increased by lawless banditti assembled on the beach for plunder, and, as is too often the case, for murder in case of resistance.

"Having vainly entreated them to assist in his humane purpose, he procured fire-arms, and declared, notwithstanding their superior numbers, that he would shoot the first man who offered violence.

"Arrested by fear, for bad men are generally cowards—at length convinced by precept, which would not so often fail were it inculcated by example—and touched by a conduct so gloriously opposite to their own, they relinquished their abominable purpose, vigorously co-operated with their humane and spirited director, and, after considerable difficulty, danger, and fatigue, saved the sailors, ship, and cargo.

"The converted marauders were rewarded for this animated exertion, and Mr Dalrymple received the public thanks of his country. His behaviour on this and other occasions has also produced an influence highly salutary on the inhabitants of that and the adjoining coasts, who had long been notorious for their unwarrantable treatment of shipwrecked seamen; the worst species of robbers are become hospitable and enterprising relievers of marine distress."—See "The Curious Book."

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## SHIPPING.

The following is a list of the shipping belonging to Dunbar in 1859 :—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Black Agnes, | William Smith, | master, | 58 | tons register, | coast and foreign. |
| Sisters, | Wm. Richardson, | „ | 47 | „ | coasting. |
| Margt. Lang, | John M'Intosh, | „ | 43 | „ | coasting. |
| Hotspur, | Thomas Phillip, | „ | 43 | „ | coasting. |
| Stephens, | Robert Fraser, | „ | 36 | „ | coasting. |

The export trade consists chiefly of potatoes, grain, and herrings. The imports are timber, rape-cake, coals; guano, bones, and other agricultural manure.

## CHAPTER VI.

TRADE OF THE BURGH.—BANKS.—POST-OFFICE.—LIBRARIES.—PRINTING.—PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.—FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.—FREE MASONRY.—CHARITIES.—PAROCHIAL BOARD.

It is obvious that the chief commerce of a maritime town lies in its shipping or fishery, and that any other traffic must arise solely from its local advantages. The annexed list shows that the shipping of the port has diminished since the opening up of the North British Railway, which has made a complete revolution in business affairs. The same cause, however, that has diminished the shipping has benefitted the fishermen, from the number of respectable agents of the English fishmongers it has brought to the burgh. These gentlemen readily buy up the piscatory treasures of the deep at a liberal price, and send them off in train-loads to London, Manchester, and the principal cities of the sister kingdom.

*Banks.*—A branch of the British Linen Company Bank was established in 1788. C. Middlemass of Underedge, agent. He was succeeded by Thomas Nimmo, and afterwards by John Kelly, whose son, John Kelly, ex-provost, is now manager. A branch of the Commercial Bank of Scotland was established in February, 1833. W. H. Ritchie, town-clerk, agent. A branch of the City of Glasgow Bank was opened December, 1853, with a savings' bank. John Jaffray, agent. A branch of the Western Bank of Scotland, established 29th February, 1856, with a savings' bank in connection. Geo. B. Robertson, agent. Transferred to J., J., and T. Kirkwood. Owing to the iniquitous failure of the Western Bank in 1857, the branch was shut. The East Lothian Bank was instituted in 1810, and was dissolved

in 1822, in consequence of William Borthwick, the manager, absconding with bills and specie to a considerable amount. This failure was a severe blow to East Lothian, as many of the capitalists and agriculturists in the neighbourhood were connected with the bank as shareholders; but from this unexpected occurrence it has long since recovered.

*Stamp and Tax Office.*—John Ferme, collector of land and assessed taxes, and property and income tax, for the county and burghs, and distributor of stamps. Alexander Cunningham, subdistributor, Dunbar. Mr Cunningham is also sub-collector of land and assessed taxes, and property and income tax. Clerk to the Burgh Commissioners for assessed taxes, W. H. Ritchie, burgh of Dunbar; Robert Craufurd, Haddington, surveyor.

*Inland Revenue—Excise Department.*—James Luckie, Haddington, collector; John Goodwillie, supervisor; Alex. Stedman, Dunbar, officer.

*Post-Office.*—There is a branch of the Edinburgh General Post-Office, Miss Christina Barclay, post-mistress.

On the 10th January, 1840, a complete revolution took place in the transmitting of letters, which created a considerable sensation, and was rather a novel scene in the burgh, in consequence of the mania which prevailed in the lieges wishing to indulge themselves in this new and cheap mode of epistolary correspondence.

Twenty years have elapsed since the penny postage, elaborated by Mr Rowland Hill, has given the benefit of epistolary correspondence to every class of the community. The dynasty of Sir Francis Freeling has made its exit. Members of Parliament are no longer hunted by their constituents for *franks*. The feature of the old postal system has faded away. The letter to London, which cost 1s. 1½d., to Edinburgh 7½d., and to Haddington, 5½. can now be transmitted to London in ten hours for *one penny!*

*Libraries.*—There is a library, as we formerly had occasion to notice, belonging to the Presbytery of Dunbar; but it has no printed catalogue. Previous to 1780, there was no regular bookseller in Dunbar, the mental wants of the community being then supplied from the shops of the general merchant, in the same manner as they are at present in the country villages. About this time, Alexander Smart came from Edinburgh, and commenced

business ; but he left it again in 1788, and was followed in the book trade by George Miller, who published his first circulating library catalogue in October, 1791 ; and so much had his collection increased by the month of September, 1811, that his catalogue of that date contained upwards of 2500 volumes, including an account of his news and reading-room, forming perhaps one of the most complete establishments to be met with in this part of the united kingdom. The situation, however, being too local and circumscribed to afford lasting encouragement for such an extensive concern, after the departure of the military, the greater part of the books were removed to Haddington. To this succeeded a " Subscription Library " in Dunbar, but upon a much smaller scale, which was instituted in December, 1815, but which is now given up. A convenient news and reading-room has been since established.

*Printing.*—To G. Miller, publisher and general merchant, Dunbar, the county of East Lothian is indebted for its first printing press, which was established in 1795. He commenced with a series of " Cheap Tracts," which superseded the common trash of the hawkers' basket ; and, in the shape of volumes, Defoe's " Robinson Crusoe," and " Religious Courtship," were the first that issued from the Dunbar press. From being a more centrical situation for the county business, which at first was its principal support, the press was removed to Haddington in 1804, under the management of John Miller (afterwards of Dunfermline), and which latterly devolved on the author of the present volume. In 1813-14, a series of cheap publications issued from this establishment, which the Messrs Chambers (in their Gazetteer of Scotland) consider " as undertakings in advance of the age." Of the " Cheap Magazine," the first of these works, which was circulated through every parish in Scotland, at a vast expense, from the high price of carriage and postage, 15,000 to 20,000 copies were printed ; and Haddington beheld the novel scene of three presses in motion, which turned off twenty reams of paper in a week. This publication was followed by the " Monthly

Monitor," in sixpenny numbers, printed on finer paper, and more of a literary nature than its precursor. Both of these works were written chiefly by the publisher himself, and Mrs Grant of Duthil (the sister of Sir Neil Campbell, who accompanied Napoleon to Elba), a lady who, from pure benevolence, lent her gratuitous services. As a proof how much these publications were considered to answer the object they had in view, they gained the approbation of men of such opposite tenents as the celebrated Wilberforce and Robert Owen, both philanthropists of a different school, and William Allen, F.R.S., the eminent quaker. The latter gentlemen wrote an elaborate review of the "Cheap Magazine" in the "London Philanthropist," of a most laudatory nature, and commissioned four dozen copies to be sent monthly to the Lanark Cotton Mills, of which he was one of the proprietors, along with Mr Owen, who had married the daughter of David Dale, the originator and founder of these splendid works. In this progressive age Dunbar can boast of two printing presses. David Knox, of Dunse, established one in 1849, and James Downie, the publisher of the present volume, in September, 1855.

In 1820, the "East Lothian Register, or County List," was published and projected by J. Miller, the "Remarkable Events" of which laid the foundation of the present "History of Dunbar" and "Lamp of Lothian." This List is continued by A. Neill.

In February, 1836, James Allan, Haddington, commenced the "East Lothian and Berwickshire Advertiser," a four-page quarto, devoted to advertisements, published on the first Friday of the month, of which 2000 copies are circulated gratuitously. In January, 1838, George Neill & Son commenced a similar publication, which is issued on the last Friday of the month. These Advertisers have proved of great utility, and are widely circulated in Dunbar and throughout the county.

*Dunbar Mechanics' Institution.*—The Mechanics' Institute was formed in 1825. This branch of national improvement had an occasional lecturer, and an apprentices' school, which are for the present discontinued. Their funds have been well applied in augmenting their library, which at first consisted of 600 volumes, and now numbers about 3000 choice works in the different departments of science and general literature, and

150 members. W. H. Ritchie, president. J. Downie, librarian. This Institute was honoured with the patronage of Captain Basil Hall, R.N., who bestowed on it several valuable donations—amongst others, the Waverley Novels, in 47 vols. His "Address to the Students," in 1828, was characterised by the "Quarterly Review" as by far the best and most appropriate that had been delivered to similar institutions; that of the Rev. James Dodds, in 1844, which was published, at the request of the president and directors, we consider in no degree inferior. The lectures in the first session were delivered by James Morton, teacher of the mathematical school; the third, by Robert Lorimer, M.D., Haddington. There is a valuable apparatus attached to the institution.

*Dunbar Building and Property Investment Society.*—This society was instituted 21st April, 1857, enrolled under the Act of Parliament, 6th and 7th, William IV., cap. 32, passed for the encouragement and protection of building societies. The object of this institution is to raise a fund for advancing to the members sufficient money to erect or purchase dwelling-houses or other real property. The shares of the society are L.25 each, paid up at the small rate of 6d. per week, which enabled any economical industrious artizan to become a *laird!* In the event of the accumulation of the funds, it was decreed that houses might be built for sale. The object of the society has prospered. The sum of nearly L.400 has been collected, and L.275 have been expended on buildings in Victoria Street.

*The Society of Sailors of the Port of Dunbar.*—The "Sailors' Box" (now called "The Society of Sailors of the Port of Dunbar,") existed in the seventeenth century. In 1705, when the magistracy found it necessary to interfere, in consequence of its funds being dilapidated, it was said to have existed beyond the memory of man. The magistrates, who had then the power of sheriffship within themselves, granted the society a new charter on the 15th September, 1730. The funds

of the institution were originally derived from a duty of eight pennies on the pound Scots, out of all wages paid to the masters, mates, and sailors, frequenting the port ; but in January, 1807, a new supplement of bye-laws was adopted, more agreeable to the times. For the purpose of encouraging the science of navigation, the society formerly paid a salary of L.3 sterling to the mathematical teacher.

*Dunbar Mutual Assistance and Savings' Society.*—This society was established at Dunbar January 28th, 1828, and from having existed for thirty years, shews how ably the affairs of the company have been conducted. It is managed by a president, twelve directors, a box-keeper, and a clerk, upon the most judicious principles, which has been promoted by the assiduous attention of their secretary, who obtained a prize from H. G. P. Nesson, F.L.S., actuary to the Medical, Invalid, and General Life Office, for his contribution to vital statistics, in 1845. The society commenced with forty members, and now numbers 542. Mr M. Suddon, clerk.

*Dunbar Total Abstinence Society.*—Instituted in June, 1839. The members of this society are required to take a pledge against the use of intoxicating liquors, such as ale, porter, cider, wines, and ardent spirits, with the exception of wine when used as a religious ordinance. A similar society was organized in 1854, under the title of "The Belhaven and Westbarns Total Abstinence and Maine Law Association." Their zealous secretary, William Hutton, Seafield Brick-work, has done much to further the cause.

*Free Masonry.*—Dunbar Castle Lodge was instituted in 1758. It is situated in a commodious hall immediately above the water-cistern of the town. A hundred years having elapsed since the charter of constitution was granted in favour of the Dunbar Castle Lodge by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the centenary was celebrated on Thursday, 9th December, 1858, when the brethren

formed in procession, and proceeded by the High Street and Silver Street to the Assembly Rooms, where they dined. Alexander Wood, R.W. Master; James Knox, secretary. The lodge is decorated with a portrait of Thomas Aitchison, Esq., surgeon, who, both as an active magistrate and over the mystic brethren, held the sway for many years.

*Public Charities.*—The poor, previous to the late Poor-law Act, were chiefly paid by assessments on the heritors, agreeably to the valued rent of the parish, and by contributions at the church doors. Of this sum the town paid one-sixth part, and the rest was made up by assessment on landlord and tenant. The only mortified money for the poor of the parish of Dunbar at present is L.75, left by a person of the name of Binning, and which sum is in the hands of the town, who regularly pay the interest to the kirk-session; and the interest of 100 merks, mortified by Lauder of Beilmouth for the like benevolent purpose. There is a sum of 2000 dollars bequeathed to the old and indigent of this parish by James Murray of New York, America. The assessment for the poor increased to an enormous degree from 1790 till 1821. Since then, it decreased; yet the poor were equally well attended to as formerly, and in some respects their circumstances better.

The *Parochial Board* was established under the new Poor-law Act, 8th and 9th Victoria, cap. 83. The average number at present on the roll, during the year, is 170, their aliment averaging from 1s. to 6s. per week, according to their circumstantial wants. The Board consists of the heritors of the parish whose property is of the annual value of L.20 and upwards, in addition to six members elected by the rate-payers, four members by the kirk-session, and the provost and magistrates for the time being. The amount collected and expended for the support of the poor for the current years, 1858-59, was L.1000, which will be about the average since the passing of the Act. John Kelly, banker, chairman; Henry Reid, inspector.

*Roads, Stage-Coaches, &c.*—The Great Post Road runs from east to west the whole length of the parish, and is kept in excellent repair. There were three toll-bars—one at Kirkhill, another at Belhaven, and the third, a cross-bar, at Click-'im-in. The latter two only exist now. The first vehicle of the description of a stage-coach, which journeyed between Dunbar and Edinburgh, was a caravan or covered cart, started by Duncan M'Culloch, vintner in the burgh, during the time of the camp at West Barns Links, in 1781. This machine carried six inside passengers, and performed its journey in one day, returning the next. But the first stage-coach, properly so called, exclusively confined to run between Dunbar and Edinburgh, was started by Mr Henry Laidlaw, in October, 1804. It was originally a four-seated light coach, which left Dunbar at eight morning, and joined the East Lothian long-coach at Haddington at ten, and reached Edinburgh at half-past twelve o'clock. It returned from Edinburgh the same day at three o'clock afternoon, and reached Dunbar about eight. This was succeeded by a six-inside coach, which performed the journey quicker. Another coach, called the Enterprise, was afterwards started, and ran upon alternate days, and at the same hours with the former. The fares of both coaches were then considered moderate, and they performed the journey with as much expedition as the London coaches. The Royal Mail, the Union, and the Berwick coaches, also passed through Dunbar on their way to the metropolis. There were likewise Berwick waggons and Edinburgh carriers twice a-week, and a Dunse carrier weekly.

### THE RAILWAY.

> Soon shall thy arm, unconquered steam, afar
> Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car;
> Or on wide-waving wings expanded bear
> The flying chariot through the fields of air.—DARWIN.

These lines of Darwin have proved prophetic A most extraordinary revolution took place in regard to travelling on the opening of the railway at Dunbar in 1846. By means of this

lightning-footed steed, the whole host of stage-coaches, from the royal mail to the smallest Diligence, were banished from the highway. In place of dragging your lazy length along at the rate of six miles an hour, thirty-five to forty can be accomplished. The nature of the traffic is chiefly agricultural and fishery. The quantity of herrings exported by the train in 1858 was 4000 tons; of coals, 4000 tons. The annual revenue derived from passengers booked at Dunbar, in the same year, was L.3414, 14s. 1d.; goods traffic, L.10,415, 14s. 9d.; Total, L.13,830, 8s. 10d.

### VILLAGES.

The principal villages in the parish are Belhaven, West and East Barns, and Broxburn. The ancient villages of Belton, Hetherwick, and Pinkerton, fell to decay with their chapels, and have been partly removed to make room for agricultural improvements. An aged tree or a solitary dovecot, is all that now remains in some places to mark where the inmates of the onstead "laugh'd loud in the village ring."

BELHAVEN, which was originally the port of Dunbar, is a thriving village.* Its healthy situation renders it a good retreat for the valetudinarian; and besides Winterfield, the seat of Major Anderson, several villas have been erected in its neighbourhood. The range of houses immediately opposite Winter-

* Part of the lands in this neighbourhood belonged to the family of Lauder of Bass. In 1745, the son of Lauder, then of Beilmouth, took part in the rebellion, while his father, like the head of many other families, acted an equivocal part, and remained at home. Particular favour, it is said, was shewn by the rebels on this account to the tenantry of West Barns and Belhaven. Young Beilmouth was taken at Carlisle, and executed. Search was made for the laird, who, by means of a concealment in his house (which was situated in Belhaven), evaded discovery till the heat of pursuit was over. He was a firm believer in the dark science of astrology, and when on a visit to Ireland, endeavoured to read his destiny by means of the horoscope. He was buried at the foot of the pulpit-stair in Dunbar old church. It may be farther noticed, that, in consequence of some dispute between the owners and the crown, a cargo of wine, which lay in the Laird of Spott's cellars, on the quay of Dunbar, was carried off by the rebels *sans ceremonie*.

field Park arose with the barracks. A brewery has been long established here, and is now owned by Mr E. Dudgeon. Brewing is carried on to a considerable extent, and the ale is famed. A spinning-mill was erected in 1806, which, however, was soon given up. After the removal of the military, the artillery barracks, situated at Belhaven, were purchased from government, and converted into a factory for cotton goods. This factory was established in 1815, and gave employment to 250 looms, and maintained a population of 550 people, chiefly Irish; but this establishment fell to decay on the disastrous termination of the East Lothian Bank. Belhaven is situated within the royalty of Dunbar, and gives title to a Scottish baron.

West Barns is a respectable village, and has been on the increase for some years. A cotton and flax-mill was erected in 1792, under expectations which were not realised. On its establishment, the cotton trade was in a flourishing state, and from the number of young people it employed, it was hailed as a patriotic attempt at the time. There is a complete set of mills at West Barns, belonging to the corporation, to which the town of Dunbar and some estates in the neighbourhood are thirled. A distillery was erected here in 1806, and a brewery several years before, but the former was pulled down twenty years ago.

East Barns is chiefly a farm-village, where, as formerly mentioned, there is a respectable school. This place is remarkable in the annals of witchcraft as being the residence of Isobel Young, wife of George Smith, portioner in that village, who was convicted and burnt for witchcraft in 1629.* It will scarcely be credited, that the dark art was the general belief of the same age that produced Milton, and that the most learned part of the community joined with the most illiterate in persecuting the deluded wretches who were accused of the crime.

Seafield Brick and Tileworks is situated midway between the villages of Belhaven and West Barns. This work, first

* For a concise account of the witches and magicians of East Lothian, see "St Baldred," p. 266.

established in a small way by the late David France, Esq., of Seafield, has, since the entry, in 1850, of the present tenant, Mr William Brodie, been gradually developing itself, until it is now considered, on account of the superior class of machinery used, and the immense quantity of drainage-pipes made, one of the most extensive and best manufactories of the kind in Scotland. Besides drainage-pipes, a considerable quantity of bricks, for building and paving purposes, roofing-tiles, &c., are manufactured, which, on account of their superior quality, find a ready market in the surrounding districts, and are sent off by railway in great quantities to Berwickshire. During the summer season, when the work is in full operation, between thirty and forty persons are regularly employed; and as the greater part of their earnings find their way amongst the merchants of Dunbar, the work is of very considerable value to the town. The work is now being removed a little to the north of its present site, where it is contemplated to re-erect it on still more approved plans, with additional machinery, buildings, &c. A large workshop for engineering purposes has also already been erected on the new site, and considering the ingenuity and indomitable perseverance displayed by the present tenant in finding additional employment to workmen, it is to be hoped that the newly erected work may continue to develope itself as much as the old one has done.

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### YEOMANRY.

The East and West Lothian Scots Fencible Cavalry were raised about 1795, under the command of Colonel J. Hamilton of Pencaitland, and Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Baird of Newbyth. In 1800, they were stationed at Deal.

The East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry were enrolled in 1797, under the command of Sir James Gardiner Baird of Saughtonhall, Bart., a distinguished veteran officer in the American war. It consisted originally of three troops, averaging fifty men each, commanded respectively by Captain Charles Maitland of Mait-

landfield, David Anderson of St Germains, and Francis Walker, Tanderlane. The 4th, or Dunbar troop, was not raised till 1803, and was seventy-five strong. Robert Hay, Esq. of Spott, then lieutenant, afterwards captain, in 1804, presented the troop with a splendid ram's-horn snuff-box, with all the usual appendages, in silver, and embeding a beautiful cairngorum stone. This liberal present is preserved with much care. Amongst the last surviving officers of this corps was the late Thomas, Earl of Haddington, K.T., who served as captain of the 4th troop in 1803, when Lord Binning, Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, Bart. of Smeaton, and David Anderson, Esq. of St Germains. The corps was disembodied in 1827. A roll of the officers and privates is in possession of Mr P. H. Hume. So emulous at this time were the gentlemen of Scotland to serve their country, that when commissions could not be given to every one, the Marquis of Tweeddale, General Hardyman, Sir George Warrender, Bart. of Lochend, &c., served as privates. The latter was afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of the Berwickshire Militia. The Berwickshire Yeomanry formed a separate regiment.

In 1821, during the radical riots in the west, the East Lothian were called into service, and were quartered in Dalkeith and Musselburgh for eight days. The Berwickshire lay in Dunbar.

On occasion of the visit of George IV. to Scotland, in 1822, on the 19th August, the East Lothian Yeomanry assembled at Haddington, and the Berwickshire Cavalry went into quarters at Musselburgh. Both regiments, with about 3000 cavalry, chiefly yeomanry, were reviewed by his Majesty on Portobello sands, on Friday, the 23rd August.

From the pacific disposition of Europe in 1827, three troops of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry were disembodied, viz., the Salton, Seton, and Gifford; but the officers were allowed to retain their commissions. The Dunbar troop, then under James Hunter, Esq. of Thurston, volunteered to serve without pay, and their services were accepted by government.

Two troops of the East Lothian Yeomanry, under the auspices of James Maitland Balfour, Esq. of Whittinghame, were reimbodied in 1846, and two years after were joined by a Berwickshire troop, which gave him the step of major-commandant. On the death of Mr Balfour, Captain Hunter of Thurston, who commanded the 1st troop, was appointed major-commandant.

The following is a list of the present officers of the corps:—

*Dunbar Troop.*—James W. Hunter, major-commandant; Thomas Mitchell Innes of Phantassie, captain; Lord Binning, lieutenant; R. C. Sinclair, yr. of Stevenson, cornet; W. H. Ritchie, Dunbar, quartermaster.

*Haddington Troop.*—H. M. Davidson, Haddington, captain: Archibald Broun of Johnstonburn, lieutenant; John Fletcher, yr. of Salton, cornet; James Skirving, Luffness-mains, quartermaster.

*Berwickshire Troop.*—Alex. M. Innes, of Ayton Castle, captain; Charles Balfour of Newtondon, lieutenant; A. C. C. Renton of Mordington, cornet; Charles D. Colville, Ayton, quartermaster. John Turnbull, M.D., surgeon. James Brand, formerly of the Queen's Bays, sergeant-major.

Cloth, red; Facings, blue; Lace, gold.

Each troop consists of fifty-two rank and file. The permanent duty is at present eight days annually.

The total expense of outfit for a private, including clothes and saddlery, is about L.24; the officers, from L.50 to L.100. The government furnishes sword, carbine, cartouche, and black belts, all which are returned on resignation. A fund connected with the corps was appointed for supplying clothing and other contingent expenses. The amount at present is fully L.300.

In 1850, the Duke of Wellington being expected to Scotland, an invitation was sent to his Grace, requesting him to honour the Yeomanry with his company at their grand mess, along with the Marquis of Tweeddale, whose daughter was married to the Marquis of Douro. To this request the following characteristic answer was returned:—

London, July 16, 1850.

F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to the members of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry. The Duke regrets much that he has so many avocations and duties in this part of the country, that it is totally out of his power to visit North Briton, or to avail himself of the invitation of the members of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry.

To the Members of the East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry,
Head-Quarters, Dunbar, N. B.

In 1854, on the field the corps formed square, and Quartermaster Ritchie called in, and after a neat and appropriate address by Lieutenant Broun, advocate, was presented with a tribute of respect, in the shape of a splendid silver claret-jug, which bears the following inscription:—

Presented to Quartermaster Ritchie, from the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Privates, of the East Lothian and Berwickshire Yeomanry, as a mark of their esteem. 1854.

1856, July 31.—The Yeomanry went into quarters at Dunbar, under the command of Captain Hunter of Thurston. This year's training was rendered memorable from its being the first after the death of their highly respected commandant, Major Balfour. At the general mess, one of the toasts was to the memory of Major Balfour, in proposing which, Lieutenant Broun passed a high eulogium on the many excellent qualities which had rendered that officer so esteemed and beloved; in testimony of which, he referred to the circumstance that a monument was about to be erected in honour of Mr Balfour at the expense of the corps.

The favourite English sport of the races is yearly contested with Nimrodian skill. About L.150 is generally collected for the purpose.

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### EXECUTION OF MUTINEERS.

About the year 1795, a sanguinary example of military discipline was exhibited at Gullane Links. Four unfortunate men, who belonged to "Grant's Fencibles," were condemned to be shot for mutinous conduct, which we believe amounted to little more than insolent language made use of to their commanding officer, Colonel Cumming, in consequence of the hard drills to which the men were subjected. The place of execution was a spot called "Yellow Mires," on the west side of Gullane Links, where the spectators were stationed. The regiments to which the criminals belonged formed three sides of a square, with one open towards the sea. In the centre of the square the men

were placed. As a precautionary measure, the soldiers of the "Grant's Fencibles" were deprived of their gun-flints, except sixteen men, who were ordered to fire on the prisoners. There were thirty-two men of the Scots Brigade from Dunbar, with loaded arms, behind them, ready to fire if the infantry had shrank from their painful duty. The cavalry were drawn up behind the infantry, while the artillery, with two field-pieces, and lighted matches, were placed in the rear. One of the men had been reprieved, and another of the three was to be pardoned. Lots were drawn for this man; and it is impossible to describe the exultation of the individual on whom this unexpected deliverance fell. He capered and jumped about in an excess of joy. One of the soldiers met his death with great fortitude. He kneeled, and deliberately dropped the signal handkerchief, and in a few moments ceased to exist; but the other, proving refractory, required to be tied, and refusing to kneel, fell flat on the ground, which caused a number of shots to be put into him, and his body to be dreadfully mangled, before he expired. The criminals came to the ground in two mourning coaches, accompanied by clergymen, a cart following them with the coffins. The corpses were interred in Aberlady churchyard. The soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons of Edinburgh, Leith, and Musselburgh, attended, with a vast concourse of people, drawn together to witness such a novel and appalling spectacle.

THE END.